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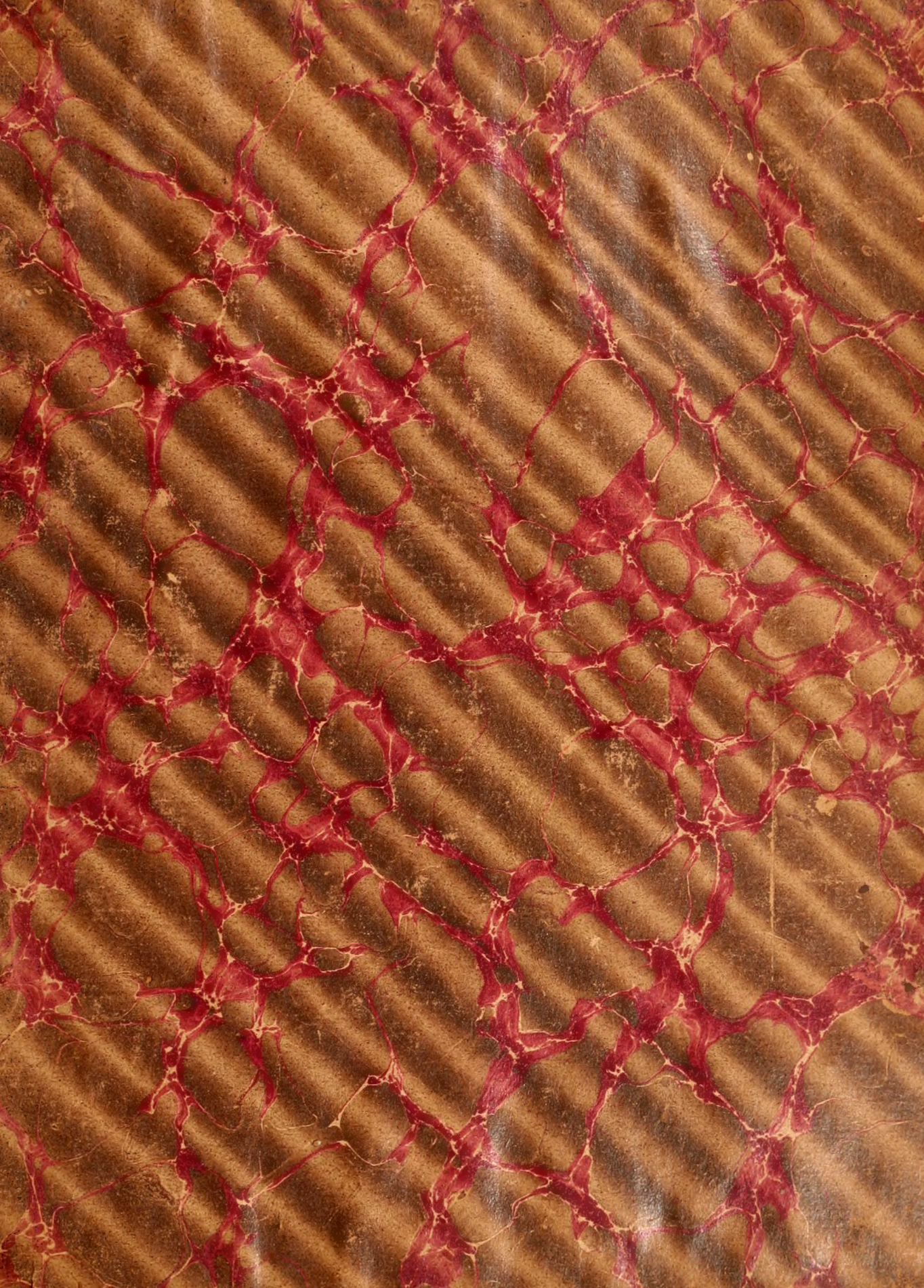
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THE LITERARY CRITICISM OF SIMONE DE BEAUVIÈRE.

by

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A DISSERTATION

submitted to the board of university studies of the
Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the require-
ments for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Preface; 1. Scope of the present study.

No examination, in any sense complete, has ever been made of the literary criticism of Pierre Bayle. Histories of literature give him only passing mention and make hardly any comment on the significance of his opinions about letters. The study of Betz, Pierre Bayle und die 'Nouvelles de la République des Lettres', takes up the question at more length and gives an excellent general estimate of Bayle as a literary critic. But Betz' treatment is almost exclusively restricted to a single one of the numerous products of Bayle's pen, and since he discusses the several different aspects of the Nouvelles, his analysis of Bayle's literary criteria is by no means detailed. Although Lenient, in his Etude sur Bayle, makes some just and accurate comments in the section which he devotes to the Scepticisme Littéraire of the Rotterdam free-thinker, these too, are brief and incomplete. The book on "Pierre Bayle" by Cazes contains a series of selections from Bayle's works, and one group of these has been chosen to illustrate the distinctive qualities of his literary criticism. But Cazes, in his own discussion, pays no attention to these qualities. In the various essays that have been

written on Bayle, the remarks concerning his literary criticism are decidedly meagre.

It is the purpose of the present study to investigate this particular feature of his activity, to establish with whatever documentary evidence can be collected the exact character of Bayle's attitude toward literature. He does not give any formal treatment of literary subjects, and none of his works may be termed, in any technical sense, literary. Yet, scattered through the nine folio volumes there are manifold remarks that have a more or less direct bearing on books and authors. Bayle was not primarily a man of letters, but since his interest in this field was considerable, and since he occupies an important place in the history of French thought, and plays a significant role in the intellectual development of Europe, it seems worth while to try to determine accurately the nature and value of his expressed opinions on literature. To do so is the aim of this study.

Preface: 2. Life of Bayle, his general characteristics as thinker and man.

Pierre Bayle was born in South France at le Carlat, near Foix, on the 18th of November, 1647. His father was a Calvinist minister at le Carlat; his mother ~~was~~ a member of a noble family of that district. After receiving his early education at home, Bayle was sent, at the age of eighteen, to the Academy of Puylaurens. Even as a young boy he had shown great zeal for his studies, and he applied himself with such enthusiasm at this academy that his health suffered and he was obliged to leave. He made a second sojourn at Puylaurens beginning in November, 1668; and after that his father sent him to Toulouse, that he might take the courses in philosophy at the Jesuit college of that city. Wishing to give his son thorough training, the elder Bayle put aside whatever scruples he may, as a Protestant, have had about sending his son to this institution. The experiment proved hazardous. On the 19th of March, 1689, one month after his arrival at Toulouse, Bayle was converted to Catholicism, largely through the impression made on him by the arguments of a priest living in the same house. For a time Bayle was quite zealous

in the new faith, but meditation and further philosophical study, and discussions with a young Protestant associate convinced him that he had made a mistake, and on the 21st of August, 1670, he abjured his recently acquired religion.

The remainder of Bayle's life was spent away from his native Midi. As a backslider from Catholicism, he was no longer in safety at Toulouse, and he left that city on the very day of his second change of faith, choosing Geneva as a Protestant refuge. Here he supported himself by tutoring, made the acquaintance of various savants, and, under the inspiration of Chouet, became a defender of Cartesianism. In 1674 Bayle went to Rouen to act as preceptor for a rich young bourgeois, but the position did not please him, and in March, 1675, he removed to Paris. Though his letters testify to the attraction which Paris with its scientific and artistic activities exercised upon him, he did not long remain there. He was induced to compete for a professorship of philosophy at Sedan, the seat of one of the four Protestant academies of France, and, easily winning the appointment, took up his task on the 11th of the following November. Bayle remained at Sedan five years, working hard and giving himself up almost entirely to the duties of his position. In July, 1681, he was

obliged once more to change his location, the institution being closed by order of Louis XIV, who was following out the policy which finally resulted in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Bayle established himself in Rotterdam, where he was to spend the remainder of his life. At that place an Ecole Illustre was established for him and his Sedan colleague, Jurieu. To Bayle was given the chair of philosophy and history, and to his friend the chair of theology. Bayle began teaching there at the age of 34, in December, 1681, and held his position until 1693, when it was taken from him as a result of the spiteful intrigues of Jurieu, whose friendship had turned to hostility. Although deprived of this source of income, Bayle's earnings from his books were enough to supply his modest needs. He was still actively engaged in writing when, in 1706, he contracted a serious lung affection, and died on the 27th of December, that same year.

It may be said that Bayle's activity as a writer dates from his arrival at Rotterdam, for all his more notable works were composed after he reached Holland. In March, 1682, appeared the first of these, the *Pensées sur la Comète. ⁽¹⁾ A comet which appeared

(1) The full title, as it appears in the 1737 edition of the 'Oeuvres Diverses,' reads: Pensées Diverses écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne à l'occasion de la comète qui parut au mois de Décembre, MDCLXXXV.

in 1680 had caused great excitement and provoked much discussion; to some it seemed a favorable portent, to others the contrary. Bayle maintained that it was no portent at all. His object in the Pensées was to prove this fact, but, according to what became an established custom with him, he wandered from his text and introduced many discussions only distantly related to the main theme. In one of the chief of these digressions he developed his ideas concerning atheism, maintaining that there might be cases where atheism would be preferable to idolatry, and that atheists, with no religious basis, might build up a code of morals quite superior to one founded on a system of idolatry. Bayle also insisted in this book that long continued and universal acceptance of a conception is poor evidence that it is true. For him general tradition has little weight.

In the same year, only four months later, was published his Critique Générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme de M. Maimbourg. This was a comment on the book of the Jesuit Maimbourg, in which the latter had with vigor attacked the Reformed Church. Bayle, with equal zeal, defends the opposite side. Here again he

does not confine himself, narrowly, to a discussion of the question at issue. The theme which permeates the book is tolerance, - not tolerance for Protestants alone, but tolerance for all sects.

The Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, a monthly journal, was established by Bayle in May, 1684, and he continued to be the sole editor of the publication until 1687, ⁽¹⁾ when poor health forced him to give it over into the hands of others. The field of this journal was book notices and reviews. Any production, in any department of human knowledge, which seemed especially worth the attention of the public, was here given notice. The first part of each number was taken up with reviews of some length, then followed a division where other books were given passing mention, sometimes of only a few lines. Bayle cares nothing about the fame of an author, and is moved by no considerations of religious faith. Catholics and Protestants, great savants, and obscure writers, receive the same impartial treatment at his hands. The Nouvelles deals with all subjects under the sun. A

(1) The first number of Bayle's Nouvelles dates March, 1684, the last number, February, 1687.

treatise on polygamy, the latest roman galant, the dispute of Malebranche and Arnauld, the histories of Varillas, Boileau's reception into the Academy, a discourse on tea, coffee and chocolate -- all these are taken up. The success attained by the Nouvelles was enormous.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in October, 1685, made a profound impression on Bayle. The spirit of intolerance which was back of it was brought home to him with telling effect when his older brother, Jacob, later in the same year, died in prison, where he had been thrown on account of his refusal to abjure Protestantism. Bayle wrote a vigorous protest, entitled: Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique sous le règne de Louis le Grand, in which he attacks the harshness of the French Catholics with great bitterness. This work was published in 1686. In the same year appeared his Commentaire Philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus Christ: 'Contrains-les d'entrer', which dealt with the same subject of religious tolerance. In this last book, once more, Bayle did not stop at demanding consideration for the persecuted Protestants; this time he developed the idea of tolerance until it included even respect for the tenets of Jews, Mohammedans,

and Pagans.

These views of Bayle were far too liberal to meet the approval of his fellow Protestants. For such an extension of the idea of tolerance they were quite unprepared. Tolerance which meant freedom from constraint for them was commendable, but tolerance extended to include those whom they held to be in the wrong was unacceptable. Herein lay one cause of the friction which developed between Bayle and his Protestant associates. The situation was complicated by the venom of Jurieu. Jurieu had written a criticism of Maimbourg's Calvinism which had been quite overshadowed by Bayle's, and this rankled. On the question of tolerance, meaning anything more than consideration for the Protestants, Jurieu and Bayle differed radically. The Avis important aux refugies sur leur prochain retour en France, criticised the attitude of the Protestants, their narrow conception of tolerance, and made light of the prediction of Jurieu, who claimed according to some system of prophecy he had found in the Apocalypse, that the persecution of the Reformed Church in France would end in 1689. This Avis is generally attributed to Bayle. Jurieu attacked it violently, and moreover accused Bayle of conspiring

in favor of the French king and against the Calvinists. His accusations were vigorously refuted in Bayle's 'Cabale Chimérique' and in his Chimère de la Cabale de Rotterdam. Jurieu's attacks, however, resulted in depriving Bayle of his place as professor at Rotterdam, and even of the privilege of teaching. Although these controversies did not wholly die out, our author at about this time, turned his thoughts from them to another project, one that was destined to busy him the rest of his life, his Dictionary.

The Projet et fragments d'un Dictionnaire historique et critique appeared in 1692; the first volume of the Dictionary was published in August 1695, the second, and last, in October 1697. The work is chiefly biographical. Bayle's original plan was to deal only with the mistakes in fact which other dictionary writers had made, and to include only themes which had not been treated in a satisfactory way by some previous writer. But this proved displeasing to the public and he somewhat modified his plan, so that he by no means limited himself to supplying the omissions of predecessors, and finally introduced, not only articles which were concerned with matters of fact, historical

or biographical, but also discussions on various religious, philosophical, and literary topics. The omissions in the Dictionary, as it finally appeared, are, however, still noticeable. Bayle worked on this production continually. In May, 1698, he began the second edition, which finally appeared in 1702. The second edition was half as large again as the first, and was accompanied by Eclaircissements which replied to various charges preferred by the Consistory of Rotterdam on account of the unorthodox views and the obscenities which the work was alleged to contain.

Several other productions of this later portion of Bayle's life should be mentioned. Among these are: Additions aux Pensées Diverses (1694); Reflexions sur un Imprimé qui a pour titre Jugement du Public (1697); Continuation des Pensées Diverses (1704); and Entretiens de Maxime et de Thémiſte (1700). This last is a controversial work in which Bayle disputes with Jaquelot and Jurieu. In 1703 appeared the Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial, a composition in which Bayle treats a great variety of topics, proceeding from some point of erudition, some question of historical fact, to a bit of court gossip or to a matter of religion. Bayle's Cours de Philosophie,

in Latin, and a number of his letters, were published after his death.

A striking characteristic of the Dictionary, and indeed of all of Bayle's writings, is his scepticism. He is the universal doubter. Religion, philosophy, morals -- when he touches on any of these his tendency towards Pyrrhonism asserts itself. And this questioning attitude results in that spirit of tolerance which is equally characteristic of him, and which is really an integral part of his scepticism.

In matters of religion, Bayle can discover no good reason why the followers of one particular sect are to be defended vigorously and all others excluded from grace. In his controversial writing it is rare that his attitude is entirely partisan. There are times when he attacks the Roman Catholics with considerable violence and defends his own Protestant faith against them with zeal. But it is not so much the immediate issue that arouses him as that he sees in it a manifestation of that general intolerance which he detests. Religious tenets are inextricably confused; the fathers of the church disagree among themselves; one ecclesiastic stands up for a doctrine that another decries; as the ages go on, ideas which have been

accepted with implicit faith and by seeming absurd and are set aside. The Manicheans offer, on the basis of a good and an evil principle, an explanation of the complexities of the world which is much more satisfactory than anything the most orthodox believers have been able to advance. The question of grace offers insurmountable difficulties. It is impossible to settle such questions with any degree of certainty. And is it absurd for sects to attack one another when the doctrines of each are so flimsy.

Under the circumstances it is ridiculous and criminal for the state to interfere in the matter of religious faith. The state has no basis for determining what is the true religion; it can only follow the dictates of prejudice, and awkward contradictions follow as soon as it adopts a policy of forcing a favored religion upon its citizens. If the orthodox do this, so may the heretics. If France may demand that all its citizens belong to the Roman Church, England may insist with equal justice that all its citizens worship after the fashion of the Protestants. If Christian missionaries reveal the fact, by some unhappy chance, that their church interprets the compelle intrare

as giving them the right to use force in their conversions, the pagans may reply that they have exactly the same privilege. The heathen Roman emperors were as much justified in their persecutions of the Christians as the orthodox Christians are in their attacks on the heretics. In a word, Bayle insists on the rights of the conscience errante. There is no basis on which it can be decided with certainty that one man's religious doctrine is right and another's wrong -- therefore, let each respect that of his neighbor.

It is not merely in things religious that the scepticism and the resulting tolerance of Bayle are manifest. For him, philosophy presents the same problems. He examines all philosophical themes and decides that a conclusion can never be reached. Again he points out the contradictions. There are a thousand theories on matter, on movement. The question of the actions of brute beasts, of whether they are mere automata, or are directed by some spirit or soul, is complex and disturbing. To be sure, philosophy and reason lead to a few truths. It is obvious that the soul is distinct from the body; that it is better to believe in God than to deny him; that the morals of Jesus Christ and the morals recommended by man's inborn

conscience agree admirably. But, after all, any definite progress in philosophy is impossible.

So here, once more, Bayle would recommend tolerance for the views of others. Let no man set himself up as an authority and proclaim that his word is law. Note that Bayle's doubting does not lead him to an absolute scepticism about everything; it is by no means barren and negative. On the contrary, it leads him to the conclusion that each man has the privilege of following out the dictates of his own conscience and his own intellect. There are no standards by which truth may be determined absolutely. Though certainty may be attained to make it worth striving for -- but man's insignificance must not be lost sight of, and no individual or group of individuals may claim to be the sole possessor of veritas.

Besides the scepticism and tolerance which are so characteristic of Bayle, one or two ideas that come out prominently in his work are to be mentioned. The doctrine of Providence interests him especially. He objects strenuously to the view that Providence interrupts the great laws of nature in order to satisfy some petty and momentary need of man. He does not believe that the Divinity sets in motion a comet at some particular time so that the miracle may give warning

of approaching danger. For him Providence becomes the expression of the immutable laws of nature; he thinks that the conception of simple and unchangeable laws is the only one commensurate with the dignity of God.

Morals, in Bayle's opinion, may be absolutely separated from religion. Since all dogmas are so uncertain, a system of ethics based on some particular faith, on the tenets of some particular sect, is hardly reliable. A much surer way is to eliminate all doctrine and appeal to the guidance of reason and conscience. The standard by which man shall direct himself must be universal. Let him ask his conscience whether the action which he is proposing is universally right; whether, with all personal and local considerations put aside, every man would be justified in so acting under such circumstances. His conscience, his inborn sense of the moral, may be relied upon more than some dubious dogma, and it is entirely reasonable for him to appeal to this sense. History supports Bayle's position, he claims. It has been noted that in the Pensées sur la Comète he maintained that atheism might be superior to idolatry. He added that an atheistic state might have

a moral code distinctly superior to that which the idolaters base on their superstitions. The theme is repeated elsewhere, and Bayle cites instances to show that communities whose ethical standards were fixed by conscience and reasoning rather than dogma have been praiseworthy for their right living. It is also true that some of the most prominent atheists and free-thinkers have been conspicuously virtuous.

It is evident from this position in regard to morals, that for Bayle, in spite of his Pyrrhonism, reason has a distinct place and a distinct value. There are innumerable problems which reason cannot solve and the vanity of man's efforts to reason and philosophize naturally leads to scepticism. Yet Bayle would object with vigor to the kind of scepticism which denies all things and leads to nothing.

Bayle's personal characteristics are those of the savant. He found the maximum of satisfaction when surrounded by his books and free to delve into erudition for fourteen hours a day. Social activities, the life of a man of affairs, intrigues and schemes for self-advancement had no attraction for him. He did not care to marry. His friends once proposed to

him an unusually good match, but Bayle protested his preference for the undisturbed life of a bachelor. His morals were of the best. During the quarrel with Jurieu an attempt was made to associate his name, in an unpleasant way, with that of Jurieu's wife, but the insinuations seem to have been absolutely without foundation. It is a pleasure to read Bayle's letters to his family and to note the affection by which he is bound to them. His emotion is the sincerest when he mourns the death of his mother. The education of his younger brother is a care that is dear to his heart. Along another line, however, it cannot be denied that Bayle is reprehensible: he had no distaste for dealing with obscenities. The Eclaircissement which he wrote to justify the obscenities in his Dictionary is hardly an apology at all. He does little more than add to his work a new chapter which abounds in fresh saletés. He did not seem to understand the basis of the accusation brought against him; he apparently lacked any of the delicacy which would have impelled a more polished man to recognize certain details as unpleasant and to glide over them lightly. But certainly his bluntness of speech was due rather to this lack of fine feeling than to any moral perversity.

The evenness of Bayle's temperament sometimes makes him less interesting than a more hot-blooded man would be. Absorbed as he was in the doctrine of universal tolerance he would hardly take to violent maintenance of his own side of a dispute, though Bayle's writings are not lacking in vigorous language, and when he is especially impressed with the injustice of the Catholics or of his own calumniators he can express himself with great force. But it may be said in general that fiery emotions are absent from his writing as from his nature. Bayle was an upright man, a diligent worker, equitable towards his fellows, certainly not without a kind heart, but much more inclined to follow the dictates of his intellect than of his feelings.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS.

A few remarks that Payle advances in regard to the characteristics of authors, as to what they are and what they should be, suggest the general attitude which he takes towards the profession of authorship. It therefore seems worth while to mention these here before proceeding to an outline of his opinions concerning particular genres, concerning the various expressions of the writer's activity.

Values in the Republic of Letters are not judged by money standards. Writers should be impelled by higher motives than a mere desire for gain. Consequently the mercenary spirit of many authors reflects much discredit upon their kind. C'est ce qui fait un grand tort aux muses, c'est ce qui les prive de la gloire dont elles devraient jouir d'inspirer à leurs sectateurs un véritable désintéressement, et un généreux mépris des richesses et des récompenses publiques. Ils ressemblent aux autres hommes, dit-on, ils ne sont pas moins sujets que les autres à l'ambition et à l'avarice, les deux maladies populaires du cœur humain. ⁽²⁾ these

(1) For the abbreviations used in the foot-notes of this and the following chapters cf. the bibliography of the present study, page 315, notes 1 and 2.

(2) D. VII. 477, Haillan, M.

grasping writers have in view not solely the money; they imagine that the rewards they may reap will not only be desirable as such, but will add to their reputation and stamp them as great authors. But this is nonsense. A good book is good, even though the author may have died of starvation, and a bad book is not redeemed by the fact that its composer was a marquis or a millionaire. A writer who, scorning wealth and devoting all his energy to the composition of good books, dies poor, has earned a title of nobility in the Republic of Letters. (1) Bayle advocates moderate compensation for men of letters: liberal pay inclines them to idleness, for they feel secure in their opulence; scanty pay inclines them to hasten their productions and to give them to the public in a form far from perfect -- the less each piece brings in, the more of these they must write. (2)

(1) D. VII. 477, Haillan, M. Bayle goes on to commend the disinterestedness of Descartes.

(2) D. XII. 576, Fensarl, K. Though it may be better to have these mediocre works than none at all, the public may be more benefited when the author is too poor than when he is too rich. cf. Gigas, pp. 59-63.

For passing remarks against the mercenary spirit of authors cf: D. V. 395, Dassouci, F.; D. VI. 129, Elisabeth, O; D. VIII. 564, Wirstenius, P.; D. XIII. 305, Simonide (2), N; cf. also O. D. I. 610, xii; cf. also D. V. 432, Décus, D; D. I. 111, Accarisi, A.: Bayle deplores the mercenary spirit of many

Carelessness and haste in writing are to be avoided; an author should resist the temptation to see himself continually in print. He should not begin publishing too early in life, and he should compose à pas comptés. (1) The number of excellent writers would be larger if those who have acquired a certain

professors.

When authors are needy and have to support large families Bayle is inclined to excuse their efforts to secure patrons. D. XII, 461, Rangouze, A; cf. O. D. I. 476, ix.

For a vigorous objection to the introduction of money standards in the Republic of Letters cf. D. I, 386-7, Alciat, G: Quand vous prétendez que, si l'on vous donne une plus grosse pension pour ce que vous direz en chaire, c'est une preuve qu'on vous estime un plus grand prédicateur ou un plus savant professeur, ne jugez-vous pas de votre métier comme l'on juge de celui d'un cordonnier ou d'un chapelier? Cela est fort propre à décrier les sciences et à faire mépriser ceux qui les professent;..... C'est assurément mettre son érudition à l'encan, et faire savoir au public qu'on ne se livrera qu'au plus offrant et dernier enchérisseur.

It is a shame to decry such sciences as physics and mathematics because they do not enrich their devotees. O.D. I. 697, viii; cf. also D. II. 25, Anaxagoras, A.: Voilà le goût d'une infinité de gens: ils condamnent toutes les occupations qui ne servent pas à faire fortune. Apropos of philosophers. Note the reference here to D. XV. 236, Projet de ce Diet.

(1) D. X. 337, Marsus, B. Cf. the ref. here to D. XV. 102, Zuërius, B.

reputation by their productions should content themselves with publishing only one work in every four years. But they do not do this; they go ahead rapidly and depend too much on the fame already acquired. (1)

A similar abuse occurs in the case of authors who seek to publish what they have written in their early days. It is judicious indeed for them to wait until they have acquired a solid reputation, and when they have done so they may venture with a certain degree of safety to bring forth their youthful efforts. (2) But they must not build too much on their reputation and too little

(1) D. VI. 523, Forbes (3), B. Cf. C. D. II. 161. Avis au Lecteur for the Nouvelles Lettres...de L'Histoire du Calvinisme. Bayle, referring to his own work, says a writer is apt to spend all his energies on his first book and if he tries to write again on the same subject he makes many repetitions of what has already been said, and perhaps relies too much on the reputation that the first work may have made for him.

(2) Bayle states that in general the excellence of a writer's production varies directly according to his experience: D. XII. 174, Plotin, E. But he is inclined to admit exceptions to this, and elsewhere cites La Bruyère - though indeed in an argument de circonstance - as an example of an author whose coup d'essai was a masterpiece: C. D. II. 643; cf. D. V. 353, Daillé, H.

on the merits of such compositions. (1)

Bayle deplores the vanity of men of letters who cry out against the ingratitude of the public.

"Ce défaut est presque une maladie épidémique dans la république des lettres: il n'y a guère d'auteurs qui ne se plaignent de l'ingratitude de leur siècle. Ceux qu'on appelle beaux-esprits se signalent par dessus

(1) D. XIV. 170-1, Thomaeus, D. Apropos of a savant.

There are various references to the superabundance of books in Bayle's own day. Cf. O. D. I. 388, iii: jamais la maladie de faire des Livres n'a été plus générale que dans ce siècle xxx si l'on peut croire que la démangeaison de faire des Livres est une fièvre continuë avec des redoublemens, l'on peut croire aussi que la génération présente s'est rencontrée dans le retour de l'accès. Cf. O. D. I. 383, i; O. D. I, 715.

Cf. also O. D. I. 745 i: Bayle refers to the multitude of books which are being published. One reason for this torrent de livres is that when a man gets hold of some small idea he feels the need of writing a book around it so that he may present it to the public.

Cf. also O. D. IV. 529, iv. J'ai ouï dire à des gens qui en avoient senti quelque chose, qu'il n'y avoit rien de plus chargeant que l'envie de se faire imprimer, et que dès le moment qu'on a les matières toutes prêtes, on se fait un prétexte de bâtir, si on ne le trouve pas tout fait.

les autres dans cette espèce de plainte. Il leur semble que ce ne serait pas se donner des airs, que de convenir que la fortune les a regardés d'un bon oeil. On dirait qu'ils craignent que s'ils paraissaient contents de ses faveurs, le public le prît cela pour un aveu qu'ils sont sans mérite; car il y a un lieu commun fort ancien qui nous apprend qu'elle est aveugle, et qu'elle choisit très-mal les objets de son amour. Ainsi tous ces lieux communs que nos beaux-
esprits, et tant d'autres écrivains, poussent contre la Fortune, sont dans le vrai un pompeux éloge des grandes et des belles qualités dont ils s'imaginent être remplis. Il y a donc là-dedans un peu trop de vanité. (1) Often enough it is the authors who are guilty of ingratitude, not the public. Bayle says:

(1) D. XI. 333-4, Pays, H. Bayle refers to Balzac as an example of this type of author. Balzac had plenty of the comforts of life, yet he was always complaining of fortune. Certainly he was not over-modest.

one or two other remarks concerning the high opinion which authors have of their own productions. (1)

The writing of books is not a very practical business, and authors are not apt to be men who would succeed in the affairs of every-day life. It often happens that a man who is good at writing books is good at nothing else; outside of his study he is a dunce. (2) And certainly a bel-esprit, who devotes his energies to the polishing of a sonnet, is not likely to prove a splendid financier, however he may prosper in Love. (3)

(1) Cf. D. V. 555, Dolet, C: Bayle remarks on the indignation of a savant when another writer takes up the lance to defend some particular cause which he, the first man, believes he has already successfully disputed. Cf. D. VII. 568, Heloise, D.; Cf. also C. D. I. 437, 4: On fait ordinairement un misérable personnage, lorsqu'on parle soi-même, de ses Ecrits." Bayle is referring to his own "Réponse..... à l'Avis sur ce qu'il a dit en faveur du P. Malebranche."

(2) O. D. I. L. 140, XCIV: Quand vous aurez plus d'expérience, et que vous aurez connu personnellement plus de personnes célèbres par leurs écrits, vous verrez que ce n'est pas si grande chose que de composer un bon livre, et qu'il n'y a souvent rien de si sot ni de plus incapable d'une affaire hors du cabinet qu'un bon Auteur. Cf. D. III. 312, Beaucaire, G; D. III. 437 Bosselin, P; D. IV. 436, Carbon, A; C. D. I. 284, 14; C. D. I. L. 140: Autre chose est d'écrire, autre chose est d'agir, etc.

(3) D. XI. 334, Pays, H.

So much then for the characteristics of men of Letters, and especially their faults. Evidently Bayle sets a high standard for the citizens of this Republic of Letters. Their calling is a dignified one, and they are not to debase it by seeking mere material rewards, nor by composing hurriedly and carelessly, nor by giving way to their vanity. They are outside of the ordinary world of affairs, and in a measure, above it. (1)

- (1) For other remarks on authors, their ways and characteristics, cf.:

On Plagiarists: O. D. I. 307 iv: des gens dont la race ne perit point parmi les Auteurs, quoi qu'on les expose souvent à l'infamie publique. D. V. 561, Donaldson, B.; D. VI. 67, Duaren, H; D. VI. 165, Ephore, C; Gigas, p. 68.

On the contradictions of Authors: O. D. II. 166-184, Lettres II, III. In the Nouvelles Lettres Critiques Sur l'Histoire du Calvinisme. The emphasis is wholly on the contradictions which come up in controversial and especially religious-controversial writings. Bayle tabulates the causes of such contradictions. He cites Cicero as an example, in maintaining that one of the causes is flattery; he points out how Cicero praises Caesar in one case and blames him in another.

Of the frequent obscurity of the ancestors and descendants of the heroes of the Republic of Letters: D. VII. 69, Gentilis, (3) B.

Cf. also the reference to cette humeur bizarre et capricieuse que l'on voit assez souvent dans les artistes les plus renommés. Apropos of Apelles: D. II. 185, Apelles, D. Cf. D. II. 183, Apollodore, (2) C.

There is some discussion of the question as to whether an author is revealed in his work, Bayle would perhaps grant that the general characteristics of authors as a class are evident enough in their writings. But at any rate he is not inclined to think that the intimate personality of the individual may be discovered. In the first place an author is apt not to be frank enough to make himself known to the public as he really is. Although it is claimed that a writer paints himself in his books, it is certain that he does not give a faithful portrait. He disguises himself as he may see fit, and whoever would take the mask for the real man would be much deceived. Even the letters of an author are not trustworthy; they may come nearer to the truth than other productions, mais après tout, on n'écrit pas aux gens tout ce que l'on pense; on auroit trop de honte de se montrer à eux tel qu'on est, et trop de peur de se faire des ennemis par son ingénuité. (1) It is also true that

(1) C. D. I. 23. Apropos of the letters of Gal Fatin, which, Bayle says, are an exception to the rule and which do reveal the man clearly. Cf. ref. to Patin, section XI, page 77, of the present study.

Cf. D. VIII. 221, Hortensius, (2) H: Bayle

what an author writes may be merely a jeu d'esprit, and for this reason not reflect in any way the real qualities of the composer. It is quite possible for a man of great moral excellence to write verses which abound in obscenities. He may introduce sotées not because they have any attraction for him as such, but because they offer a good opportunity for him to give play to his ingenuity and earn the applause of those who find a particular charm, a particular sel in such subjects. (1) Similarly in fiction the character

comments on the unreliability of remarks on other men which authors make in their published works, an unreliability due to the author's unwillingness to disclose his real sentiments. In this case, however, he is inclined to admit that authors speak frankly in letters to their friends. Cf. the ref. given here to D. VII. 283, Grotius, (2) M.

Cf. O. D. III. 6, Préf. de la 1^e. Ed. des Pensées Diverses etc: "Cet air libre que l'on se donne quand on écrit à un Ami, mais non pas quand on veut se faire imprimer. Ceux qui écrivent dans la vue de publier leurs pensées s'accrochent au tems et trahissent en mille rencontres le jugement qu'ils forment des choses, etc.

- (1) D. XIV. 291, Vayer, D. Bayle adds several other remarks on this question of whether obscenities in a poem indicate the moral perversity of the poet. There are some poets, like Catullus, Ovid and Martial, in whose case the obscenities come from the natural inclination of the writers to such wickedness -- there is no excuse for these. But Bayle's general attitude is the one noted in the text. (Continued next page.)

of a novel hardly throws any light on the character of the individual who composes it; here again we have an author exercising his intelligence and imagination, without putting his personality into the composition. Many of the best romans are being written by women, but there is no reason to believe that they are telling their own love stories, or that they approve the extremely amorous tendencies of their heroines. Indeed it is certain that the only object is to display their ability, their art in the depicting of character and passion. (1) Finally it is true that a writer whose

Cf. D. XIV. 425, Virgile, A: It is quite possible for poets, editors of poetical texts, etc. to acquire a view-point from which they may regard such dangerous objects with impunity, since their attitude is merely impersonal and professional; cf. D. XIII. 81, Sanchez, C. Cf. D. XIV. 292, Vayer, D: Some writers are all the more careful in avoiding obscenities, lest any slip should justify the reports which are current as to their bad moral character. Cf. D. X. 319, Marot, H: There is no reason why a poet who was a rascal should not translate well the Psalms of David, just as there is no reason why the gool statue of a wicked sculptor should have no place in a church.

(1) D. XIV. 424, Virgile, A.

own morals are exceedingly flimsy may express in his books the noblest sentiments of virtue and of decency. (1) This is another case where it would be nonsense to judge from an author's compositions what kind of a man he really is. (2)

In a word authorship does not ever mean to Bayle an eminently personal thing; it is almost always an objective business in which the brains and imagination of the man are concerned, but hardly his real self. Bayle's comments on the various kinds of literature will bring out the fact that this attitude is a constant one, that he rarely looks at a book as an expression of a writer's whole individuality, but as an indication of his caliber as impersonal artist or thinker.

(1) D. XIV. 290, Vayer, D. Two cases are possible: a rascal may write virtuously, or a man of excellent moral worth may write books that are far from edifying. Bayle cites Salust and Clodius, on the authority of Le père Lemoine; Discours de l'Histoire, and Cicero: Orat. de Haruspicio Responsis, respectively, as examples of men of mœurs dérangées whose writings were serious and admirable. Cf. O. D. III. 67, cxxxv; Gigas, 43.

(2) On this question as to whether an individual is reflected in his book, cf. O. D. I. 259: C'est une grande illusion que de juger de l'âme d'un homme par ses Écrits; -- après of a man who wrote a vigorous defense of polygamy but had taken unto himself not even a single wife.

II.

FICTION.

Occasional references to works of fiction

indicate that Bayle takes a certain interest in this kind of literature. He mentions the writings of Mlle. de Scudéry, ⁽¹⁾ La Princesse de Clèves, ⁽²⁾ Télémaque, ⁽³⁾ Francion, ⁽⁴⁾ the Roman de la Rose, ⁽⁵⁾ Daphnis et Chloé ⁽⁶⁾ and various other productions. ⁽⁷⁾ Novels awaken his curiosity and often they are mentioned as diverting. ⁽⁸⁾ From time to time his interest prompts

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1. D. IV. 183, Brutus; D. XI. 329, Pays; O. D. I. L. 15, 75-6, 125, lxxx. In the first and fourth of these references the Clélie is attributed to M. de Scudéry.
 2. O. D. I. L., 92, 98, lxiv, 101, lxvii.
 3. D. XII. 75, Pygmalion.
 4. O. D. I. 632.
 5. D. VII. 563, Héloïse, F.
 6. D. IX. 352, Longus.
 7. O. D. I. L. 49; On m'a dit qu'il y a un Roman nouveau intitulé "la Citerie," ou "l'Asterie" ... Je croi qu'il est de la façon de Mademoiselle de la Roche, qui a composé l'Arioviste autre Roman; 81: Il y a une maniere de Roman qu'on appelle l'Histoire des Sevarambes; 125, lxxx: M. de Vaumoriere vient de donner au public un Roman en quatre petits volumes intitulé "Adelaïde de Champagne," et Mademoiselle Bernard, jeune fille de Foëu, âgée de 17 ans et de la Religion, fait aussi un Roman intitulé "Frideric de Sicile"; 166 cxviii: Il y a une Dame à Paris nommée Daunoi qui compose plusieurs Romans ingénieux...

8. D. XI. 40, Navarre; O. D. I. L. 114; O. D. IV, 528, iii. 574, xxxii.

a critical remark, but there are few cases where Bayle devotes himself to the task of analysing carefully the merits of a novel, and apparently he hardly thinks such an effort worth while; with the exception of one or two short reviews dealing with particular romans (1) the observations which he makes on fiction are introduced apropos of some other matter.

When Bayle does indulge in criticism, the general character of his remarks shows what features attract him. He does not ask whether a novel has any value as an appeal to the imagination, any merit as an idealization. It is natural enough that the positive unromantic Bayle should not be aroused by the coloring of fiction, especially in view of the inferiority of most of the novels which he had a chance to peruse. What occupies him is fact. Beyond one or two incidental remarks on the proper subjects for novels, the questions he considers are: whether a novel is true to life, whether it introduces a combination of romance and history; whether its practical effect on the reader is moral or otherwise.

1. O. D. I. 157, viii; 195, iv; 651, i.

The natural subject for a novel is love; the romancers have set that up for themselves as a law. (1) But it is the courtship alone that is to be related, for to write of married life is absurd. Longus may be criticised in this regard. (2) Bayle does not believe that novelists will again introduce the pastoral romance; the pastoral will henceforth belong to poets alone. (3.)

In order to maintain the illusion of the reader there should be vraisemblance. The true pleasure of fiction comes when the reader persuades himself that he is learning of something which actually happened. If incongruous and improbable elements are introduced the spell is broken and he realizes that it is only a story after all. (4)

1. D. XI. 41, Navarre, note (1).
2. D. IX. 355, Longus, B: Une héroïne de roman grosse et accouchée est un étrange personnage. Note that in his comments here Bayle merely echoes and enlarges on the opinion of Huet. Elsewhere he advances the same statement independently: D. VII. 552, Héliodore.
3. O. D. I. 651.
4. O. D. I. L. 142, xcvi; cf. O. D. I. 650, i.

The rules of probability are upset by the excessive prudery which romancers attribute to their heroines. La vertu va beaucoup plus loin en ce pays-la, que dans notre monde: c'est apparemment une des principales raisons qui ont fait qu'on s'est dégoûté de cette sorte d'Ouvrages. (1) The seventeenth century writers are guilty in this regard. Mlle. de Scudéry and her contemporaries would represent a heroine as resisting too valiantly and too successfully the seductions of a lover who has kidnapped her. These novelists observe the demands of vraisemblance when they portray a heroine as struggling at the start against such abduction, for of course she realizes that she will be compromised. But a long-continued resistance is not likely, and to hold that a lover would undertake such a hazardous affair without being reasonably sure of success is absurd. Furthermore it is nonsense to picture a lover suing ardently for the hand of a lady who has already been kidnapped by rivals; it is not probable that her character is above reproach. Bayle's criticisms are doubtless tinged by the fact that his

1. O. D. I. 195, iv.

conception of love is far from romantic. (1)

Authors have finally recognized this lack of probability in their stories and have begun to improve matters. The novel entitled Les Dames Galantes ou la Confidence réciproque shows that a change is taking place. Here two women of easy morals relate to each other their adventures with a frankness that is refreshing. (2) Other contemporary novels indicate the same regard for truth, the same freedom from the prudery which had characterized the genre. The heroines in Ariane act like ordinary women of the time. La

1. D. VII. 530, Hélène, E. Cf. D. VI. 312, Etampes, L; D. VII. 390, Guise, sub-note 32; D. VII. 535, Hélène, L; D. IX. 355, Longus, C, (where the unnatural virtue of heroes is blamed); O. D. I. 650, i; O. D. I. 735; O. D. III, 75, cxii.
 O. D. II. 303-8, Letter XXI of the Nouvelles Lettres Critiques sur l'Histoire du Calvinisme. This also contains a criticism of the excessive and improbable virtue of the characters of fiction. This letter is undoubtedly written by Bayle, but he represents it as written by a certain M. Crisante, who is disputing with him about the marriage of the clergy, and who advances these remarks on vraisemblance in connection with one of his arguments. The single point made by M. Crisante is the one noted above as Bayle's own: fiction writers are to be censured for endowing their heroes and heroines with unheard-of prudery. Among other novels criticised for lack of vraisemblance in this particular is La Princesse de Clèves.

2. O. D. I. 195, iv.

Duchesse de Montpensier and the novels of Mlle. des Jardins show that attention is being paid to writing stories which shall be natural and probable. (1)

Yet Bayle does not dwell on the need for vraisemblance with any particular insistence. He believes it desirable, and once or twice, as has been noted, he speaks with a momentary vigor on the subject. But apparently he does not think it worth while to lay down many hard and fast rules in regard to a kind of literature which at best has no very serious purpose and no particular claims to consideration. The tales of fiction are idle, grotesque, tiresome, decidedly inferior to writings in which facts alone are dealt with and in which there is no attempt to embroider the truth. (2) One must not ask much of such stories. Many references to the anachronisms, extravagances and chimerical adventures found in romans indicate that Bayle looks on these as typical. (3) He does not expect

1. O. D. II. 323. Cf. O. D. I. L, 59.

2. D. I. 329, Aimon; D. VIII. 486-7 Junius, F; D. XI. 41, Navarre; O. D. I. L. 49; O. D. III. 708; O. D. IV. 729, clxxxiv.

3. D. IV. 569, Castille, A; D. V. 229, Claude, G; D. V. 234, Cléonyme, B; D. V. 393, Dessouci, D; D. VI. 280, Esope, C; D. VI. 498 Flora, F; D. VII. 405, Guise; D. XI. 255, Origène, E; D. XII. 150, Pythéas, C;

that the characters of a novel be made subject to the restrictions of ordinary existence; it is a simple matter, he says, to credit them with this or that remarkable quality according to the exigencies of the case: lorsqu'on se fait des personnages de l'imagination ... on leur fait comprendre tout ce que l'on veut; on nage en pleine mer, on dispose à sa fantaisie de leur cœur et de leur esprit. On fait toutes ces choses bien plus aisément que la Nature ne les produit dans des sujets très réels. (1)

The practice of mingling history and fiction is prevalent in Bayle's time. Such a compound is frequent

- D. D. XII. 478, Rauber, D; D. XIII. 7, Sadeur; O.D. I. 426; O. D. II. 651; O. D. III. 639, lxix.
 Cf. D. VII. 323, Guévara, B: Ceux-ci (writers of romans) ne trompent personne, car ils ne demandent pas qu'on prouve pour vrai tout ce qu'ils débitent; ils n'aspirent qu'à la gloire de faire approuver leurs fictions comme des choses ingénieusement forgées;

1. O. D. I. 547. Cf. D. XV. 274 Eclaircissement sur les Athées, Section IX; O. D. I. 157.

in court memoirs, and in romances which purport to reveal the secret loves of some member of royalty. The authors and publishers understand that such tales are more popular when they are supposed to have a foundation in fact, hence they do their utmost to persuade the reader that their books contain an element of truth. (1)

The custom is unpardonable. (2) A romancer must not take historical facts as a basis for his tale and embellish them as may happen to suit the whim of his imagination; he must not give his characters the names of historical personages and then make them act according to the requirements of his invention. By this pernicious habit the romancers poison even the most recent facts of history, as in the case of the story which claims to relate the life and death of Kara Mustapha, Grand Vizier of Turkey, who be-

1. D. XI: 152, Nidhard, C.

2. Cf. D. XIII. 273, Sforce. (3) E: a reference to novelists who write tant de mauvais écrits qui paraissent tous les jours, où l'on entre sur les faits réels cent fables et cent chimères.

sieged Vienna in 1683. (1) Bayle's ire is aroused by the thought that a writer of fiction should trifle with such a subject. His interest in facts and his contempt for petites piéces de galanterie are brought out here. (2) It is important, he says, that this historical event should be understood, that the circumstances should be well known; a novelist has no business to dabble with such an affair and confuse it by his fictions. Moreover it is disgraceful to attribute to royal characters, still in active life -- even if they are Turks -- gallantries of such compromising nature as this particular writer introduces. It would be best that authors devote themselves either wholly to fiction or wholly to history. Or at least, if they

1. O. D. I. 157, viii. The roman is entitled: Cara Mustapha Grand Visir. Histoire contenant son élévation, ses amours dans le Serail, ses divers emplois, le vrai sujet qui lui a fait entreprendre le Siège de Vienne, et les particularitez de sa mort. The author writes that a love affair of the Grand Vizier was the cause of the war.
2. Bayle is inconsistent once or twice, stating that the element of history in a particular novel interests him. Facts please him so that perhaps he forgets for a moment the mistake of presenting them in such a form. Cf. O. D. I. L. 15, 22-3; O. D. I. 405.

do introduce history into a romance, they should make it clear what is fact and what is not. (1) Bayle commends the practice of Mlle. des Jardins in stating at the outset that the story she is to relate is merely a product of her imagination. (2)

The moral effect of novels is not to be disregarded. Fictitious accounts of love-affairs of doubtful character may be harmful in the extreme, (3) and the delicacy and subtlety of some of the recent fiction make it all the more pernicious, for the poison is disguised by a sugar coating. (4) On the other hand,

1. D. XI. 152, Nidhard, C. Cf. D. XII. 18, Phéron, B.; O. D. I. 381, vi; O. D. I. 406, i; O. D. III. 737.
2. D. VIII. 332-3, Jardins, A. And yet even this lady is to be blamed, says Bayle, for the deplorable way in which she confuses fact and fiction. Note that he gives Mlle. des Jardins the credit for bringing into fashion the petites historiottes galantes which succeeded such novels as the Cléopâtre and the Cyrus.
3. O. D. III. 649-50. Cf. O. D. IV. 186: les Romans ... les Ouvrages de galanterie, qui ne peuvent que corrompre les bonnes mœurs des jeunes gens.
4. O. D. III. 648-9. Cf. O. D. I. 650, i. Bayle is speaking of a roman which copies nature with some faithfulness and he says: plusieurs personnes de bon sens sont persuadées qu'un Roman tel que celui-ci n'est pas aussi pernicieux que les autres, où l'on voit des gens de l'un et de l'autre sexe qui s'aiment le plus galamment et le plus tendrement du monde, sans préjudice de la chasteté. Cela fait croire

a novel may exert a beneficial influence, and the attempt to point a moral is praiseworthy. (1) It will not do to distort historical facts in this effort, for a combination of history and romance in which a familiar character is connected with events which the reader knows never happened has little power to convince him. (2) But a roman which twists the facts of everyday existence and represents a heroine as endowed with superhuman virtue is less reprehensible than one which follows unpleasant realities too strictly. (3)

This inconsistency -- for Bayle has dwelt elsewhere, as has been noted, on the need of not endowing heroines with unusual virtue -- is character-

aux jeunes personnes que l'amour n'est point à craindre, et qu'on peut, s'y engager impunément. On s'y engage donc sur cette espérance et souvent l'on ne s'en tire qu'avec honte. Si l'on avoit vu, comme on le voit dans ce Livre, que cette passion fait tomber dans les infidélitez les plus flétrissantes, peut-être qu'on s'en seroit défié.

1. O. D. I. 381, vi.
2. O. D. I. 406, i.
3. D. VIII. 156-7, Hypsipyle, C. Cf. D. VI. 339, Eve, L.

istic of his general attitude towards fiction. Another contradiction, which has been referred to, is that on several occasions he protests vigorously against introducing history into fiction, but declares in other places, though only in passing, that what attracts him in certain novels is the element of chronicled fact. (1) In a word Bayle is not free from contradictions on the two points which seem to occupy him the most in his criticisms of novels. He does not consider this kind of literature seriously, and is a little inclined to waver in his views; his opinions lack the definiteness of his criticisms on a genre such as history, which he esteems highly. The fact, however, that Bayle comments so frequently on fiction in its relation to truth lends a certain unity to his remarks.

1. Cf. above, p. 21, note 2.

III.

POETRY.

The fact that Bayle does not have a very high esteem for poetry may be gathered from the slighting remarks which he makes about writers of verse, as a class. They are jealous (1) frequently impecunious, (2) inclined to exaggerate their poverty in order to get help from their patrons, (3) and given to flattery. (4) They make themselves ridiculous by their importunities; they insist

1. D. VI. 358, Euripide, K; cf D. XI. 649, Perse (2); ditto 652, D.
2. D. I.403, Alcman; D. VII. 117, Gombauld, B; Cf. D. XIV 253-9, Tristan (2) B, C.: Railleurs often exaggerate the poverty of poets, though it is indeed great. Bayle suggests that the carelessness and dissipations of poets often make them lose what they have.
3. D. III.319, Benserade, E.; D. III. 440, Billaut, B.
4. D. I. 486, Ambrose; D. I.529, Ammonius; D.II. 459, Artavasde II A; D. III. 125, Barleus, A; D. IX 340 Lollius, F; C. D. II. 348.
 Cf. D. VI. 51 Drusus, (3) C: un poëte qui chante les victoires et les triomphes d'un prince, ne renonce à l'hyperbole fabuleuse que lorsqu'il n'en a point de besoin. Ceux qui lisent les poésies modernes conviendront de ceci, et croiront sans peine que les poëtes de la cour d'Auguste étaient animés du même esprit que les poëtes du temps présent.
 Cf. section X., page 168, note 4, of the present study.

upon reciting their verses to all comers, and they stop at every word to discuss details until lines that might otherwise be pleasing are utterly spoiled. Bayle thanks Heaven that he is not as one of these, and claims that being only a writer of prose he is less of a burden to his friends. (1) The laments of poets must not be taken seriously when they cry out against their lack of success in love, (2) for as a matter of fact the esprit of these gentlemen gives them great power over the fair sex. (3)

Writing poetry is only a jeu d'esprit. This may be recognized whatever subject a poet takes up. How many love verses there are, in writing which, the bard is inspired not by deep passion, but by a wish to exercise his poetic invention! (4) A poet who is only slightly affected by the

1. C. D. IV. 538. En effet un poëte ne marche jamais qu'à cheval: un Auteur en prose jamais que sur le haquenée des Cordeliers. Or il est bien plus commode de loger un homme seul qu'un homme avec son cheval, surtout quand on n'a point d'écurie.

On the affection of poets for their verses Cf. D. IV. 272, Bayle, H; D. IV. 596, Catulle, E; D. IX. 381, Lotichius (2). G; D. XI. 635, Perse (2). F.

2. C. D. II, 332, xii.
3. C. D. II. 290-1. This was especially true, says Bayle, at the time of Marot when writers of ingenious and gallant poetry were rare, but it holds good even in the brilliant seventeenth century. Cf. D. VII 393. Guise, O; C. D. II. 326.
4. D. IX. 378, Lotichius, F. Bayle states here that he does not think a poetic temperament makes a man especially susceptible to love.

charms of a lady will strive and strain in order to give some new turn to his verse and thus flatter her and gain applause from his fellows. And there are some who indulge in such compositions without being in the least in love. A poet may touch upon the most lofty themes of religion and yet not be inspired by any divine faith. (1) It is likely enough that he chooses the subject merely because it gives him a chance to show ingenuity, command of language, power of literary expression. Another day he is quite as apt to choose a subject of a very different nature provided it fits the requirement of the moment. So that lofty sentiments, expressed in this way, have no authority. On the other hand one must not censure a poet too severely for introducing remarks which are against the principles of religion or morals. Here again he is only giving rein to his imagination; it is not serious. (2)

1. D VII. 28, Garasse, I. Cf. C. D. III. 923, sections III and VI.

2. D. VII, 27, Garasse, I: Cf. section I, page 10, note 1, of the present study; ref. to D. XIV. 291-2, Vayer, I. On the light irresponsible character of poetry in general cf. D. II, 39, Anaxagoras, F.; D. IV. 583, Catius C; D. VI. 554, François, K; D. VIII, 4, Hénault, D; D VIII. 444, Jules II, F; D. V 243, Colonna: une de ses protestations poétiques, dont il ne faut pas tenir plus de compte que des parjures des amans. On the follies and extravagances found in poetry cf: D. I. 201, Adam E; D. I. 423, Aléandre, F; D. I. 538, Amphiaras, C; D. II. 485, Astyanax, E; D. II. 545, Averroès, P.; D. III. 409, Bèze, S; D. III. 518, Todin, N; D. V. 169-170 Chrysippe, (2) E; D. VIII. 509, Junon,

Bayle is impressed by the wholesale fashion in which a poet exercises his power of invention. (1) The imagination is most important. Versifiers are in the habit of following the dictates of fancy, describing things which they never saw and which never existed. Sometimes a poet believes himself inspired; he has a dream, wakes up with the impression of it still fresh and hastens to record what he considers a marvel. But it is likely enough that the conception his dream presents is one that has been in his mind during the waking hours. There is a particular strain on the imagination when it is used so much, and a poet should retire from the service of Apollo before his inspiration is exhausted and he becomes insipid. (2)

M; D. X. 149, Majus, C; D. X. 374, Mélampus, H; D. XIV 65, Téléboës, D; O. D. I. L., 87; O.D. III. 12; O.D. III. 343. On the exaggeration of a poet cf. section XI. page 211, note 4, ref. to Pontus de Tyard.

If a poem is avowedly dogmatic in nature, if it advances a definite philosophical system in verse, the author is as responsible as though he wrote in prose.

D. IV. 177 Brunus, D.

1. D. IX. 382, Lotichius, (2) G.

2. D. V. 426, Daurat, O. Le service des muses sympathise en bien des choses avec le service des dames; il vaut mieux s'en retirer trop tôt que trop tard. Cf. D. III. 581, Bargarutius, A; A mention of the reluctance of poets to retire; O. D. I. 716.

Elsewhere there is a statement about the retirement from activity of authors in general: chacun devrait ... se faire des bornes pour la production des livres qui est une manière de génération à quoi tout âge n'est nullement propre. D. I. 239 Afer, B. (Continued)

Poetry then is not a very serious occupation. The poet works his imagination hard, exercises his wits, and produces something clever. As in the case of fiction, poetry writing is not important enough, from Bayle's point of view, to make him think it worth while to lay down precepts for the art with any insistence. Indeed, it has been noted (1) that he has countenanced loose moral and religious ideas in poetry. But on this score he is by no means always lenient --- at times, in fact, he takes a very definite stand on the other side.

Bayle points out the particularly bad effect writers of verse may have on morals from the fact that they are able to give an insidious charm to their remarks

On the inspiration of poets, Cf. O. D. IV. 37
Vous n'ignorez pas quels sont les effets de la fureur poétique. Elle donne des pensées et des expressions qui rendent un homme aussi supérieur à lui-même qu'il est supérieur aux hommes vulgaires dans son état naturel. Bayle adds: Or vous savez que la prose a sa veine, sa verve, ses enthousiasmes. Cf. also O. D. II. 338-7, Pays, II: Les muses d'un homme ne sont jamais plus éloquentes ni plus vives, ni plus fécondes en pensées, que dans de semblables occasions. (when he is indignant at an attack.) The preceding sentence is worth quoting: Il est permis, je m'assure, de conjecturer qu'un poëte, qui a si bien réussi à faire l'éloge du tabac, exprime très-bien dans le même tome son chagrin contre l'injustice d'un cruel arrêt.

1. Cf. above, p. 5.

by the attractive form in which they present them. (1)
 Modern poetry has been attacked with justice in the matter
 of immorality. (2) Poets profane Christianity, even though
 they do it unwittingly, by the absurd extravagances which
 are supposed to bring honor to the Holy Virgin and the
 Saints of Paradise (3) and their effrontery in other cases
 is detestable: (4) il est certain que les Poètes se sont
mis en possession de falsifier tout, et que si l'on exami-
noit à la rigueur les vers de nos Poètes Chrétiens sur d'
autres matières que sur des sujets pieux, à peine leur
resteroit, - il un Sonnet, une Ode ou une Chanson, qui ne

1. D. VII. 27, Garasse, I.

2. D. VII. 441, Hadrien VI. D.

For short comments against immoralities in poetry,
 cf. D. II 436, Arodon, A; D. III. 298, Bemba; D. III
 396, Bèze; D. VI. 326, Eve; D. XIV. 293, Vayer, E; O. D.
 III. 81, CXXVI.

On the tendency of poets to be obscene - cf. D. X
 321, Marot, M. Cf. section XI, pages 209-10 of the
 present study.

3. O. D. III. 80, cxxv: Furthermore it is not fair to
 attack the pagan religion of the ancients on the basis
 of the poetic representations of their gods, for the
 poets lightly attributed to their divinities every vicious
 and ridiculous weakness. Cf. D. VI. 101, Egalée, G.

Although such poems are deplorable, there may be cases
 where sacred poetry is at least preferable to profane.
 D. II. 181, Arius, L; D. XIV. 341, Vegius.

Bayle objects to introducing profane characters
 into sacred poetry. D. III 321, Benserade, G.

4. Cf. D. III. 319, Benserade, E; D. VI. 500 Fontarabie, C.



fussent pas infectez d'hérésie, d'impiété ou de flâteries profanes. (1)

In view of these various remarks it would seem that Bayle's attitude towards poetry was one either of indifference or of disapproval. While it does not occur to him that the poet's power of imagination may be used to serve many noble ends, that it may enable him to tell what others only feel, and give expression to aspirations which others only dimly conceive, he does see the value of this power in one instance. The understanding of poetry and the ability to write poetry are useful to a man who sets out to compose a history. (2) A historian who is fortunate enough to possess this poetic feeling and, at the same time, the orator's power of rhetorical expression, may thereby add greatly to the dignity and vividness of his writings, though he must hold himself in check and not be carried away by his poetic vein or by any tendency to declaim. (3) ... si la vigilance de l'Ecrivain lui fait prévenir la contagion de la Poétique et de la Rhétorique, il peut espérer un grand avantage de la connoissance de ces deux arts, puisque d'un côté il se garantit de tout ce qui ne conviendrait pas assez

1. O. D. III. 80, cxxv.

2. O. D. III. 191-2.

3. Young and immature writers, Bayle adds, are especially apt to lack this necessary self-control.

à la gravité de l'histoire, et que de l'autre il communique
à ses narrations les nerfs, la vivacité, la noblesse et la
majesté qu'elles demandent et sans quoi elles seroient très-
défectueuses. (1) It is striking for Bayle to concede that
 the spirit of poetry lends dignity to a history, (2) in view
 of the way he has branded poetry as frivolous. Note that
 the case in which he does grant any merit to this kind of
 literature is where it has a certain relation to matters
 of fact.

Bayle does not devote much attention to details
 of style and technique in poetry. (3) He does not set him-
 self up as a judge of the merit of poems and often he is
 content to rely on the opinions of others. (4) What criti-
 cisms do occur are miscellaneous in character. There are
 one or two references to points of versification, (5) occa-

1. O. D. III. 192, ii.

2. Cf. O. D. III. 191. ii.

3. Bayle urges his younger brother when he translates Latin
 poetry to study each expression carefully, to grasp
 the exact significance of every phrase, to understand
 all references to mythology, to appreciate the figures
 used. But the object here is scholarship, not a sym-
 pathetic understanding of good poetry. O. D. I. L. 32.

4. D. III. 443, Bion; D. VII. 119-20, Combauld, E; O. D. I
 442. ii; O. D. I. L. 85 lvi.

5. D. VII. 105, Goudimel, F; D. VIII. 380, Jodelle; O. D. I.
 L. 39.

sional comments on the use of a figure or fable, (1) on the force or clearness of a particular expression. (2) Bayle recognized that the melody of a poem, the effect on the ear, is important. (3) He protests against the custom of overloading poetry with minute references to fable and antiquity in the desire to make a show of erudition. (4) Anachronisms in poetry may generally be excused, (5) but there is a limit to this indulgence and poets must not take liberties with chronology which result in absurd falsehood. (6) It is taken for granted that poetry will abound in allusions to the supernatural and to the marvelous. Poets sont si entêtés de semer dans leurs Ouvrages plusieurs descriptions pompeuses, comme sont celles des prodiges, et de donner du merveilleux aux aventures de leur Héros: que pour arriver à leurs fins ils supposent mille choses étonnantes. (7)

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1. D. I. 152, Achille, (2) A; D. I. 231, Adonis, K; D. I. 546, Amphiaraus, K; D. VII. 14, Gambara.
 2. O. D. IV. 642-3. Cf. D. II. 560, Augustin, I: Bayle says that poets and orators do not use words with the same care for their exact meaning that philosophers deserve.
 3. D. XIV. 437, Virgile, L; cf. O. D. I. 164, ii.
 4. D. X. 371; Melampus, B; O. D. IV. 546-7.
 5. D. IV. 582-3, Catus, C.
 6. D. IV. 597, Catulle, I.
 7. O. D. III. 10. iv. Cf. D. XII. 1. Phaon.

A man who starts to write poetry has all nature at his command; tempests, eclipses, comets, monsters, demons and angels, may be introduced to meet the needs of the occasion. Bayle accepts the pastoral manner as it is; he sees the artificial side of it, but seems to think one may as well yield to the convention. ⁽¹⁾ It does not enter his head that the pastoral is ever a graceful ideal, and he fails to understand why such a conceit should have been handed down from Theocritus through Virgil to modern times. There is very little vraisemblance in the pastoral verses that modern poets produce — but vraisemblance would not do here. In ancient times shepherds were a superior class and might indeed be taken as models for galantry; at present, however, such swains and their loves as they are found in real life are crude rustics whom it would not do to depict in poetry.

1. O. D. I. 634.

In the letter which Bayle presents as written by a M. Crisante (O. D. II. 303-8. cf. section II. page 16 of the present study) poets as well as romancers and dramatists are accused of depicting women as unnaturally cold and prudish.

Cf. the following precept as to the hero and heroine of a poem. Ulysse était le héros du poème; il fallait donc nécessairement que son épouse y parût comme une héroïne ou pour le moins en honnête femme Ce serait pécher contre les règles les plus essentielles, que de ne point supprimer toutes les actions honteuses de la femme de son héros.
D. XI. 542, Pénélope, K.

IV.

DRAMA.

The stage productions of Bayle's own time interest him,⁽¹⁾ and he makes some comment on dramatic writing in general. He refers in one case to Les Femmes Savantes and to Psyché, a tragedy-ballet, and states that he could hardly say which piece pleases him most.⁽²⁾ He is interested in the opera, and individual works are occasionally praised.⁽³⁾ He does not speak highly of dramatic poets and actors, suggest-

1. For mention of various productions cf. D. I. 371, Albutius⁽²⁾ G; D. VIII. 130, Hiérophile, A; D. VIII. 314, Hutterus, C; O. D. I. L, 76, xlviii, 78, xlix; O. D. IV, 554; O. D. IV. 834 cccxv.

2. O. D. I. L. 22.

3. O. D. I. L. 49, 116.

The music and the machines please him especially: O. D. I. L. 37. Without these the opera is pitoyable: O. D. I. L. 65-66, 75, 78 xlix.

Bayle's comment on music is worth noting. He writes to his younger brother: je suis bien-aise que vous aiez du goût pour la musique, c'est un talent qui est d'usage dans le monde. O. P. I. L. 75.

Cf. O. D. I. 114, vii: On the difficulty of understanding the words sung in opera. Cf. O. D. I. 331, 1. a ref. to opera as la maladie à la mode.

ing even that they are insignificant, (1) and mentioning them as flatterers. (2)

The standards for dramatic production, the rules according to which plays should be written, are determined by the fact that the theatre has a single and a well-defined object: to please. A playwright composes a piece to amuse the people, and if he succeeds in giving them any moral instruction it is accomplished through pleasing them. (3) If there is any case where it is true that the majority should rule, says Bayle, it is here. A dramatist must try to suit everybody, but, since this is naturally difficult, he will do well to adapt himself to the demands of the crowd and not be troubled by the censure of the cultured few who insist on adherence to set rules. On doit considérer la Comédie comme un repas donné au peuple, l'importance est donc que les viandes paroissent bonnes aux conviez, et non pas qu'elles aient été

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1. C. D. I. 504, i; C. D. IV. 585, xli. Parts of this letter are identical with a letter to Basnage published by Gigas, 74-85, under the date 17 November 1674.
 2. D. II. 266, Archelaus, (3) H.
 3. C. D. III. 200-203, x.

aprétes selon les règles de l'art de Cuisine. (1) Among those dramatists who preferred the judgment of the people to that of the critics Bayle names Terence, Pomponius Secundus, Lope de Vega, Molière and Corneille.

The moral instruction which a drama gives may be considerable. Bayle doubts if a playwright can make any headway against the capital vices, such as illicit love, envy, avarice, and downright rascality; but he holds that the theatre may attack, with great effectiveness, petty weaknesses. (2) Molière has succeeded in overwhelming with ridicule fops and prudes, devotees of préciosité, would-be marquises, and importunate versifiers. (3) Bayle refers to a comedy (4) where the trickery of a procureur is ridiculed, and admits the moral good sometimes gained by such subtle raillery. (5) Tragedy as well as comedy may point a moral. (6)

1. O. D. III. 202. x.

2. O. D. I. 40, vii.

3. On the power of comedians and of Molière in particular cf. Gigas, 71-72.

4. Arlequin Procureur. O. D. I. 40, vii.

5. Cf. Gigas, 69. Here Bayle is speaking of such satirists as Molière and Scileau.

6. Cf. D. XII, 476, Rataller, A.

Yet in the case of both these kinds of drama the opposite effect must be guarded against. Molière has laid himself open, in some of his pieces, to the charge of encouraging coquetry.⁽¹⁾ Euripides is blamed for setting a bad example before his audience in the case of Phædra.⁽²⁾ Bayle objects to the profanities which were introduced in early French dramatic productions. To point out the standards in the XVI century he cites selections from the Mystère des Actes des Apôtres.⁽³⁾ He states that the quotations he gives suffiront à nous apprendre que pendant que l'on défendait au peuple de voir les histoires saintes dans le livre qui les contient purement et fidèlement on lui permettait de les voir sur le théâtre souillées de mille inventions grossières, dont on exprimait la plupart d'une façon basse et en style de farceur.⁽⁴⁾ In regard to the

1. O. D. I. 40, vii.

2. D. VI. 388, Euripide, Y.

3. D. V. 149, Chocquet, A. Bayle makes a mistake in attributing the Mystère des Actes des Apôtres to Louis Chocquet. Cf. O. D. IV. 829, note by Desmaiseaux, and Michaud, Biographie Universelle, article Louis Chocquet.

4. D. V. 149, Chocquet, A. On the immoralities in the drama, cf. L. VI. 491. Flora, C, sub-note 12, D. VII. 27, Garasse, I; D. IX. 305-6, Loyer, E; D. IX. 566, Luther, S.

responsibility of a dramatist for the morals of his play, Bayle grants that it is absurd to hold an author answerable for all the opinions which he makes his characters profess. (1) Let a dramatist may go to such extremes that he lays himself open to censure. Il est bien certain que l'auteur d'une tragédie ne doit point passer pour croire tous les sentimens qu'il étale, mais il y a des affectations qui découvrent ce qu'on peut mettre sur son compte; et quoi qu'il en soit, on peut justement interdire le théâtre à certaines pièces, soit que l'auteur y débite, soit qu'il n'y débite pas ses sentimens. (2)

Vraisemblance is often upset in the drama, and the conceptions of life seen in certain comedies, romans and semblables petits Livres, are sometimes the result of pure invention. (3) But, if discernment is exercised, it will be noted that many of the portrayals of dramatists are based on actual conditions. Bayle points out Le Fourgeois Gentilhomme as an Example. (4) Molière would never have

1. D. VI. 350, Euripide; O. D. II. 712.

2. D. VI. 265, Eschyle, F. Cf. D. VI. 236, Erasme, Q. Bayle is objecting to profane and impious sentiments expressed on the stage.

3. O. D. II. 322-3.

conceived such a piece if he had not been quite familiar with the type of new-rich individual who feels that his wealth gives him a rank, and who affects the manners of a noble gentleman. The exaggerations in the piece are patent; if such a man existed in real life, he would be assigned a guardian --- but the railleries are based on fact. The likeness to real conditions is especially evident in the case of comedies which attack the absurdities of married life. (1) There is, moreover, an excuse for the exaggerations of dramatists; a comedian who wishes to cure some absurdity of manners or morals must draw things out of their normal proportions in order to emphasize the weakness attacked and drive his idea home. (2)

1. O. D. II. 323.

2. O. D. I. 570; Cf. O. D. III. 373.

For references to lack of vraisemblance in the drama cf. D. VII. 535, *Hélène*, K; D. XII. 114, *Pyrrhus*, E; O. D. I. 73.

In the letter from M. Crisante (O. D. II. 308; cf. section II, page 17 of present study) Bayle speaks vigorously against the lack of vraisemblance in comedy. Among other things he objects to laquais qui fissent un message en vers, to Kings and Queens who accusent la fortune par des sentences bien rimées et bien cadencées. He censures the *Misanthrope* because the hero shows a weakness and a stubbornness in his love affair which are beyond all reason. The sincerity of the opinions expressed in this letter is doubtful. It is unsafe to credit Bayle with a view which he assigns to his opponent. As a matter of fact the opinions on things literary do not vary essentially from those we know as Bayle's own.

It is noteworthy that the slight criticism which Bayle offers in regard to particular plays is concerned with matters of fact, with the question of adherence to probable or actual happenings. He commends Racine for following the traditional facts in his Bérénice. (1) The dismissal of Bérénice is in accordance with the historical facts, and our author thinks that Racine represents the love of Titus as less strong than that of Bérénice in order that it may be natural for him to dismiss her. Bayle criticises, in the Agamemnon of Seneca, Ajax' long continued and extravagant resistance of the gods, an exaggeration which would not be tolerated in the modern theatre. (2) There is lack of vraisemblance in the abominable passion of Chimène who becomes affianced to the murderer of her father on the day of the crime. (3) A pagan poet could have treated the subject better, for he might represent Chimène as maddened by Venus. But Corneille is wrong in writing in such a way, and he has been censured with justice by M. de Scudéry.

1. E. III. 351, Bérénice (5) D.

2. D. I. 313, Ajax, E.

3. O. D. III. 201.

The Amphitryon of Plautus meets with criticism on several points. (1) Bayle objects to treating the war against the Teleboans as though it were waged by Amphitryon in behalf of the Theban king, Creon, instead of being carried on in his own interests. This diminishes the importance of Amphitryon in the drama. Plautus should have taken advantage of tradition which asserts that Amphitryon was the instigator and director of the war; he should have used the situation to the credit of his hero. (2) The geography of the play is absurd, for the Thebans are made to embark at the Eubean port when they start out for the Echinades Islands. (3) Plautus shocks vraisemblance and decency too when he represents Jupiter as embracing Alcmena the night before she gives birth to twins. The dramatist should have followed tradition and dwelt on a visit which Jupiter paid her some months before and should have made capital out of

1. D. XIV. 65-7, Téléboës, D. E. F.

2. As a matter of fact there are only casual references to Creon in the play; and the king in no way makes Amphitryon less important.

3. D. XIV. 67, Téléboës, F. Quel circuit, bon Dieu! ne faut-il point faire pour aller là, si l'on s'embarque à l'île d'Eubée.

that; he should not have supposed a second visit on la
veille de l'accouchement. (1) That Plautus represents
 Alcmena as being delivered without pain is exadable, for
 here he does not upset tradition in any essential, and the
 incident helps in the dénouement of the drama. It is wrong

1. Bayle asserts here, D. XIV. 87, Téléboëe, F. that
 Plautus observes unity of time -- which is true.
 But elsewhere D. I. 400, Alcène, D, his words imply
 that Plautus did not observe unity of time. Dans
la comédie de Plaute . . . Amphitryon y laisse sa
femme grosse en s'en allant à la guerre. Grand ragout
pour Jupiter! Ce serait bien pis, si Plaute avait
observé l'unité de temps comme le veut Mademoiselle
le Fèvre. Il faudrait dire en ce cas-là, qu'en arrê-
tant le soleil Jupiter interrompit tout le cours de
la nature, afin de se divertir plus long-temps avec une
femme grosse de deux enfans, et si proche de son terme,
que pour peu qu'il eût différé sa retraite, la sage femme
aurait été obligée de lui dire, cédez-moi la place. C'est
une fâcheuse alternative pour Plaute: il faut, ou
que sa pièce dure plusieurs mois, ou qu'il fasse d'une
femme toute prête d'accoucher de deux jumeaux, un des
plus friands morceaux du monde pour le plus grand de
tous les monarques, et cela en supposant que ce maître
des pieux et des hommes a déjà produit l'un de ces ju-
meaux. Either Bayle's manner of expression or his ideas
on the subject are confused. Especially since he goes
to say: Prenez bien garde que ce poëte ne feint pas
que Jupiter se déguisa en Amphitryon, pour venir en
son mari au secours d'Alcène pendant le travail d'un
enfant: c'était la visite d'un homme bien amoureux.

to accuse Plautus of an anachronism when he represents Amphitryon as killing Pterelaidon, for he had historical authority in making the two men contemporaries. And in any case a poet does not have to adhere strictly to facts. (1)

1. Note that in another detail in the same piece Bayle is less lenient. He objects to speaking of the Eubœan port as the Persian port, par une anticipation trop licencieuse. D. XIV, 67. Télécès, F.
Bayle censure the mauvais poètes qui, dans une pièce de théâtre, se servaient d'un dieu de machine pour dénouer un très-petit embarras. D. XI. 296, Ovide, cf. D. II. 44, Anaxagoras, C.

V.

ORATORY.

Our author is not over-familiar with the eloquence of the Greeks and Romans, neither is he well acquainted with the pulpit eloquence which represents the most important oratory of his own time. The masterpieces which the Roman Catholic Church produced in France in the seventeenth century are little known to the refugee at Rotterdam. He is better acquainted with Protestant sermons, but confesses he does not like them. His inability to appreciate the rhetoric of the Protestant ministers provokes the remark in a letter which gives evidence of bitterness and discouragement: Il faut que je n'aye pas le goût de l'éloquence de la Chaire, et il est bien plus juste de penser cela, que de révoquer en doute la capacité de ces Messieurs. (1) Doubtless Bayle's failure to value the efforts of the Protestants of his day is excusable. In any case he shows little enthusiasm about any kind of eloquence. Once or twice he refers to a subject as a good one for an orator, as offering opportunity for a display of rhetoric. (2) But such interest is only momentary. He admits

1. C. D. I. L. 43.

2. D. I. 206, Adam, L; C. D. I. 186, viii; C. D. I. 741, iii; C. D. I. L. 44-5.

that oratory can be made use of with considerable effect, public speakers have power to do much good or much harm -- particularly the latter. (1)

There are a few comments on general features of eloquence, and some remarks on details of the art. Oratory appeals to the passions, not to the understanding. Of the methods of men who seek to sway an audience, Bayle says: Ces Messieurs-là ne se soucient guères d'éclairer l'esprit; ils se contentent de persuader par l'entremise des passions; ils vont droit au cœur et non pas droit à l'entendement; ils tâchent d'exciter l'amour, la haine, la colère; . . . (2)

He suggests that a man who is hot-blooded is apt to succeed in declamation. (3) Certain conceptions that are not capable

1. D. IV. 11-12, Bossu; D. V. 285, Canon, (2) D; D. XI. 408, Parthenai, A; D. XI. 621, Périclès, 2.

It should be noted that in two of these references, the first and third, Bayle is attacking a Catholic.

Of the peculiarities of orators as a class Bayle has almost nothing to say. He refers to their jealousies, D. II. 69 Aucillon, B; D. II. 504 Atticus, B; Cf. D. VIII. 220, Hortensius, H.

2. O. D. III. 178; cf. D. VI. 63, Duaren, B; Cf. D. XII. 155, Pitiscus, A: L'éloquence armée de pompe, et de figures, est nécessaire aux prédicateurs: un raisonnement sec et précis à la mathématicienne ne leur convient pas, et ne ferait point sur les auditeurs les impressions que l'état de l'homme demande.

3. D. I. 235, Adam. (3)

of any proof may be used most effectively by a speaker. The idea, for instance, that the appearance of a comet has some mystic import may be so developed by an orator as to impress his audience profoundly and win him much more credit than any mere logical discourse. (1)

An orator wants above all to affect his hearers; to this he devotes more attention than to truth. (2) In the heat of declamation these spell-binders do not hesitate to exaggerate, they emphasize such details of a question as suit their purpose, and they suppress whatever may harm their particular cause. (3) Lawyers are especially inclined to say in their speeches whatever meets the need of the moment, and resulting contradictions are frequent. (4) Oratory, then, is

1. O. D. III. 10. iii.

2. D. IV. 192, Brutus, (2) K: .. un orateur se soucie peu que de tels faits soient certains: il se contente qu'une partie du peuple les croie. Cf: D. IV. 493 Cassius, E; D. IX. 431, Louis XII, D; D. X. 356, Mausole, C.

3. O. D. III. 178: Cf. D. IV. 408, Capisugchi (2) E; D. V. 194, Cimon, D; D. V. 285, Conon (2) E; D. VI. 548, François, E; D. IX. 333, Loyola, X; D. X. 333, Mélancton, O; O. D. I. L. 118; O. D. II. 109.

4. D. II. 135-7, Antoine, (2) E. C.

generally characterized by a faux éclat,⁽¹⁾ both in the style of reasoning employed and the amount of consideration paid to fact. Bayle objects to this. A sermon which has false brilliancy may be most effective in the pulpit, but on paper, without the fire and enthusiasm which the preacher has put into it, a reader is apt to find it insipid.⁽²⁾ The utterances of a preacher should be based on truth, they should not consist of exaggerations which, however they may glitter, are unreliable and misleading.⁽³⁾ Bayle protests against subtleties and paradoxes in a sermon.⁽⁴⁾ He criticises severely an extreme compliment paid Louis XIV in a sermon by the Abbé Denise, Chanoine de Troyes; it may have been brilliant and effective, but it was only an amas de fausses pensées.⁽⁵⁾ It is true that sometimes Bayle

1. O. D. I. 645, vi.

2. O. D. I. L. 86. Cf. D. IV. 524. Cassius,⁽⁷⁾ O, on the difference entre le succès d'une harangue récitée et le succès d'une harangue publiée.

3. O. D. II. 299.

4. O. D. I. L. 86: Cf. O. D. I. L. 56. Note that Morus, though Bayle names him as the man who introduced such subtleties into sermons, is given credit for a certain adroitness. Cf. the remark on Morus in section XI., page 234 of the present study.

5. O. D. II. 298-9. iv.

seems to accept the fact that orators pay slight attention to logic, and that mathematical reasoning is not necessary in an oration. But he regrets this state of affairs. (1) In several cases where he does find solid reasoning in a speech he indicates his approval. (2)

Since eloquence makes its appeal to the heart rather than to the brain, an orator has little need of profound scholarship. As a matter of fact a man gifted as an orator is not apt to have the talent for great learning — but his weakness in this particular does not matter. Of preachers Bayle says: le but des Prédicateurs étant de toucher leur Auditoire, et de le tenir attentif, ils ont plus de besoin d'éloquence, d'imagination, (3) de pensées probables et populaires, d'ornemens et de moralitez, que de raisonnemens profonds

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1. Cf. O. D. II. 299: les personnes de bon goût souhaiteroient passionément que les Prédicateurs se pussent guérir une bonne fois de la maladie de mal raisonner. Cf. D. VI. 377, Expériens, A: Les logiciens se servent trop de l'art du distinguo: les orateurs ne s'en servent pas assez.
 2. D. VII. 124, Gontaut, C; D. X, 408, Mestrezat, F; O. D. I. 500, iv.
 3. Cf. D. I. 239, Afer, B: Bayle says that, since orators draw so heavily on their imagination, they should retire before their fire is exhausted. They are inclined, however, to persist in their activity to the end. Cf. section III, page 28 of the present study.

et solides . . . ils employent tout leur temps à chercher les finesses de l'éloquence et . . . ils renoncent à la profonde érudition qui généralement parlant ne leur serviroit pas de beaucoup en Chaire. (1) Learning ordinarily makes a sermon dry and diminishes its grace and effectiveness. (2) On the other hand a preacher must have a grasp of the essentials in things erudite and theological: otherwise he is at a considerable disadvantage and cannot hope to influence his audience. (3) Evidently Bayle believes in a happy medium; a preacher need not be a savant, but he must have a

1. C. D. II. 297, xx; Cf. D. XII. 288-9, Porci s, U. Here Bayle says: les talens de l'éloquence sont pour l'ordinaire séparés de la vaste érudition. He refers to lawyers, orators and preachers; Cf. C. D. II. 20. Cf. D. VII. 22, Garasse: Bayle tells how Garasse had the brilliancy and power of imagination which made him a good orator, but was unfitted for writing, especially on subjects which demand dignity, careful reasoning and careful scholarship.
2. C. D. II. 297, xx: Un homme qui a beaucoup d'esprit et de jugement se peut servir avec avantage de la science; par rapport aux Prédications, mais pour l'ordinaire la profonde science nuit plus à un Prédicateur, qu'elle ne lui sert.
3. C. D. II. 299. Bayle remarks on the injustice of the common people who are prone to judge a sermon poor if it is entirely clear, if the preacher does not put in a few remarks which are too deep for them.

fairly well-furnished mind. (1)

There are a number of miscellaneous criticisms concerning various details of oratory. Some languages are richer than others in the terms and expressions which an orator may use to good effect. (2) Eloquence is especially developed in a country where there exist portentous political questions. (3) A man who has a good memory and who can imitate the manners of some great speaker may readily make himself an orator. (4) This question of manners, of delivery, is important. (5) The personal appearance of an orator, and his voice, may make or mar him. It is desirable that he give the impression of speaking readily and freely, without

1. Cf. D. IV. 51-2, Boushio, B: Bayle objects to the attempt on the part of preachers and lawyers to display learning in their speeches. He protests against the former practice of filling a sermon or a plea with allusions to literature, to the ancients, etc. He adds that modern lawyers have gone to the opposite extreme; their erudition is too slight.
2. C. D. I. 163-4.
3. C. D. I. 113.
4. D. X. 596, Musso, B.
5. D. X. 596, Musso, C: Que la bonne mine est un favorable précurseur pour celui qui parle en public, elle dispose l'assemblée à bien écouter, elle embrasme les suffrages avant qu'il ouvre la bouche. Cf. D. IV. 4, Rose (3); D. VIII. 43, Henry III. P; D. VIII. 222, Hortensius (2) K; D. X. 562, Morus, I; D. XI. 594-5 Périclès, D.

long preparation, and without recourse to the little tricks of the profession. (1) In other words, let him seem easy and frank. A skillful orator will know how to attack an opponent at a weak point, and will make use of every chance to exercise his power of satire. (2) In the pulpit a serious and dignified tone is to be insisted upon. (3) Bayle speaks of the dignified utterances which the Huguenots demand in the pulpit, and adds: Ceux de la religion ne font nul cas de ces ornemens mondains, et de cette rhétorique efféminée dont les prédicateurs de l'autre parti se parent. (4) A preacher should stick to his text. It is possible to please a congregation by shifting from one subject to another and introducing clever ideas which the variety of topics suggest. There are many who like such a sermon — but it is poor taste. (5) Bayle praises the text of a funeral oration of l'Abbé de la Chambre for its simplicity and epigrammatic force. (6) He does

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1. D. II. 137, Antoine, (2) D.
 2. D. VI. 316, Fulvi, (2) F; cf. litto, 623, L.
 3. D. III. 121, Barlette; O. D. II. 23, 29. Note that in each of these three passages there is a suggestion of an argument de circonstance.
 4. D. V. 229, Claude, (2) G.
 5. O. D. III. 517.
 6. O. D. I. 188, viii.

not have much to say about funeral orations in general, but refers to the fact that the fair words of commendation on such occasions are apt to be unreliable, ⁽¹⁾ and he makes the following comment on the practice of giving a full account of the last illness of the deceased: dans les oraisons funèbres, les professeurs, en voit ordinairement une description fort exacte de tous les symptômes de leur dernière maladie; si un tel jour ils eussent, ils furent constipés ou pressés d'une diarrhée, etc. ⁽²⁾

1. D. III. 413, Bèze, y; D. IX. 405, Louis XI. F.

2. N. XI. 439, Pasor, C. Cf. D. I. 175, Acidalius, C:
Il n'y a peut-être rien sur quoi la fabuleuse renommée récite plus de mensonges que sur les maladies, et sur la mort des hommes illustres, c'est pourquoi les prédicateurs, et en général tous les moralistes, devraient être extrêmement réservés à faire des réflexions là-dessus.

VI.

HISTORY.

History, with Bayle, is quite a different thing from poetry and fiction and other light literature. When he talks about history his tone is grave. He discusses earnestly the needs of the genre and advocates high ideals.

Certain comments throw light on his general conception of history. A bare narration of external facts is by no means satisfactory. It is important to get at the causes which underly various historical events, to comprehend the motives which impel the various actors. A history which takes these factors into account is not only more pleasing, more interesting, but also more instructive: il est mille fois plus avantageux en lisant l'Histoire d'acquérir de discernement sans se charger que d'un petit nombre de faits, que de se remplir d'un nombre innombrable d'événemens et de noms, sans bien pénétrer la cause de chaque chose. (1)

1. O. D. I, 148. cf. D. XIV, 104-5, Théopompe. Cf. O. D. I, 32; cf. the reference to this article of the Nouvelles in Gigas, 691, J. Le Clerc, note 1; cf. O. D. I. L. 33. (Continued)

Care, indeed, is necessary in analysing the thoughts of historical characters. If a historian occupies himself with such questions, he must limit his assertions to what can be shown to be probable, and he must specify clearly that he is only presenting his own inferences. ⁽¹⁾ Furthermore he must not impute to his character his own thoughts and passions. ⁽²⁾ And he must be sure that he has the facts straight; otherwise he may work out a

Cf. O. D. I. 28: Bayle commends Maimbourg's account of the causes of the Ligue and says: En lisant ces choses le Lecteur devine presque par avance ce qu'il va lire, et c'est là le grand secret d'un Historien; il faut qu'il prépare l'esprit aux événemens, mais il ne lui est pas permis pour cela de prêter à ceux dont il parle, toutes les passions et toutes les réflexions qu'il imagine dans son cabinet. On ne sauroit assez blâmer la licence que les Italiens se sont donnée à cet égard.

1. D. X. 603, Musurus, D. Bayle criticises Varillas on this point.
2. Cf. above, page 55, ref. to O. D. I. 28. Cf. also O. D. II. 527: Quelquefois un Roman semble plus vraisemblable que l'Histoire la plus sincère et rien quelquefois ne nous semble plus naïf et plus assuré, que les motifs qu'un Historien fait avoir aux Princes, lesquels motifs ne sont qu'une fiction de l'Historien très-éloignée de la vérité, la quelle s'il l'avait rapportée fidèlement, les Lecteurs eussent trouvé quelquefois plate, absurde, contraire à toute vraisemblance et raison.

clever analysis on a false basis.⁽¹⁾ But attention to underlying causes, provided these precautions are taken, is valuable. Here then is part of Bayle's definition of History: a record of human events, but not a mere chronicle, for it must deal not only with results but with causes.

Another remark explains still further Bayle's conception. A historian does well, he says, not to attempt to write about a period which has

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1. D. VI. 309, Etampes (2), K. Bayle criticises Varillas on this point; cf. D. XV. 176, Dissert. sur les Libelles, Diff., A. Bayle is speaking of a certain class of historians who take particular pleasure in prying out new bits of information. Ils aiment à dire ce qui ne se trouve point dans les histoires ordinaires: ils aspirent à la louange d'avoir déterré des anecdotes, et les qualités occultes des premiers ministres, avec le secret des intrigues, et des négociations que personne n'avait su. Qu'une chose ait été abandonnée à l'oubli de tout le monde, c'est assez pour eux afin de la publier. Ils vont plus avant; ils bâtissent là-dessus tout un système: cela leur sert de clef pour ouvrir le cabinet des souverains; ils donnent raison par-là de plusieurs mystères, si on les en croit. The zeal of such writers in getting hold of these details is praiseworthy enough but their readiness to accept the information as reliable is to be deplored. Bayle refers to Varillas as a historian of this kind.

already been treated by many authors.⁽¹⁾ If he has discovered a few new facts he had better publish them separately, rather than incorporate them in a general work which would repeat a thousand details already known. New histories on time-worn subjects displease the public. He who undertakes such a work copies others and is open to the accusation of plagiarism; he gets little glory for making a good copy and he exposes himself to sharp criticism when his work is compared with the previous writings. There may indeed be particular instances where a writer is justified in reworking a much treated subject. If he has new material with an important bearing upon the events of a period, it is quite right for him to embody his discoveries in a fresh history of the whole period. And a writer does real service to the public when he gathers in a general account of an epoch historical facts, already known, but scattered

1. O. D. III. 1023, iv. Note that in this case Bayle refers to the reign of Henri IV and seems quite satisfied with the works on that period already written. He names as historians of the period: Julien Peleus, Pierre Mathieu, Baptiste le Grain, Scipion Du-pleix, Mézerai, etc. Cf. D. VII. 465-6, Haillan, E.

in various books, or when he writes of an age which is described only in archaic works, for whose style the public has no liking. In general, however, Bayle would say that there is no justification for composing a history of events which have already been carefully described. He evidently looks on history as a collection of facts, not merely the externals which first strike the attention, but nevertheless facts, of the kind that can be put on record, once and for all time. It does not seem to occur to him that a new historian, big in brains and imagination, might do much to illuminate the history of a period of which the "facts" are already known in great detail.

There is little in Bayle's comments to indicate that he had any definite notion of what the lessons of History might be, of the use man might make of the records of the past. ⁽¹⁾ He is particularly impressed with the fact that, on account of the general corruption of man, a history which contains

1. Cf. above, page 54, note 1, references to O. D. I. 32, O. D. I. 148.

a faithful narration of events is bound to take on the appearance of a satire against the human race, (1) and he grants that a writer may safely venture a few personal comments on this general corruption which he presents. (2) Yet the historian must be sparing with such remarks. Il suffit donc de bien exposer les faits: les sentences en ce genre-là doivent être ménagées tout comme celles qu'on nomme maximes: elles ne doivent pas se montrer hors d'œuvres ou en relief, il faut les incorporer dans la narration, comme on l'a dit ci-dessus. (3) Preaching is not his business and Bayle objects especially to authors who introduce puerile moral reflections in connection with events. (4) In one case Bayle sees that History may present a certain useful example: an

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1. D. IV. 181, Bruschiu, D; cf. D. X. 196-7 Manichéens, D; L'Histoire n'est à proprement parler qu'un recueil des crimes et des infortunes du genre humain. History contains some examples of virtue, however, Bayle admits here; cf. D. XI. 270, Orose, G; D. XI. 324 Padilla, E.
 2. D. IV. 181. Bruschiu, D.
 3. D. XIV. 175-6 Timee, L.; cf. D. XIV. 104, Théon, C.
 4. O. D. III. 11, vi: ils (historians) poussent quelquefois si loin la moralité qu'un Lecteur mal satisfait de les voir interrompre le fil de

account of the horrors of the religious wars in France in the XVI century may be valuable in warning posterity to refrain from such atrocities.⁽¹⁾ But elsewhere he suggests that the example drawn from history depends much on the prejudice of the reader. In regard to the records of the Greeks and Romans which show their love for liberty and their hatred of

l'Histoire, leur droit volontiers, s'il les tenoit, 'riservate questo per la predica." Cf. O. D. III. 192, ii: ils (some historians) feroient bien d'en ôter (from their books) tant de réflexions dévotés que l'on y a répandues, et qui auroient dû être réservées pour des sermons, ou pour des Livres de piété.

Cf. O. D. II, 84: Bayle refers to a comment of Maimbourg on the downfall of the Prince de Condé as a sign of God's wrath against those who oppose the Roman Church. His attitude is distinctly partisan here, and he refers not only to froides moralitez but to vains ornemens de pensées fausses.

1. D. X. 35-7, Macon, C. Although Bayle grants here that ceux qui semblent trouver mauvais que l'on fasse des histoires, parce, disent - ils, qu'elles n'apprennent aux lecteurs que toutes sortes de crimes, ont à certains égards beaucoup de raison par rapport à l'histoire des guerres sacrées. Cf. also D. XIII. 273, Sforce (3), E: In speaking of a historian who left out a detail which brought discredit to Catherine Sforza, Bayle says: Et si tous les historiens imitaient celui dont je vous parle, n'ôterait - on pas aux hommes la crainte de la postérité, frein très - puissant pour les contenir dans leur devoir, et l'un des principaux fruits de l'histoire?

monarchs, Bayle says the influence of these books works in two directions: devotees of democracy will find splendid examples of the virtue of a love for liberty; those who believe in monarchical government will point out the conspiracies and political upsets which attended the efforts of the ancients, and will see therein a proof of the justice of their opinion.⁽¹⁾ In a word, then, Bayle does not emphasize the significance of the instruction which history may be able to give. His interest seems to some extent the interest of a savant who gathers facts for the love of having them.

It is granted that history writing is difficult, more difficult perhaps than any other task which an author might undertake.⁽²⁾ The best historians are perplexed by the difficulties they encounter, and make mistakes.⁽³⁾ It is no wonder that people insist

1. D. VIII. 161, Hobbes, C.

2. D. XII. 504, Rémond, D.

3. D. X. 518, Mopsus, E; D. XI. 90, Navarre⁽³⁾ H: les meilleures histoires nous trompent - note that Bayle refers in this case to Brantôme and Mézerai.

on the uncertainty of history, on the unreliability of what are supposed to be historical facts. Yet Bayle is inclined to object to the extremes to which some go in proclaiming this. He is willing to accept the testimony of serious careful historians, although he objects to doubtful evidence: selon les lois publiques, en fait de lecture d'histoire, on reçoit pour bon ce qui se prouve par le témoignage des auteurs graves, et l'on rejette comme une fable tout ce qu'un moderne débite concernant l'antiquité, sans l'avoir lu dans de bons historiens. Of a writer who carried le pyrrhonisme historique to excess it is suggested that he deserves to be classed with that doubter who was sure that all Caesar had to say in his Commentaries about the Gallic Wars is false and that Caesar never reached the other side of the Alps.⁽¹⁾ Bayle thinks the uncertainty of history may be overcome to an appreciable extent.⁽²⁾ Here and there in his writings

1. D. VII. 324, Guévara, D.

2. Cf. D. XV. 241, Dissert. cont. le Projet. IX. Bayle states that many historical problems can be solved with full certainty. He is here pointing out the difference between

he takes up questions of impartiality, accuracy, and style; in historical composition, he indicates some of the difficulties in detail, and urges that they be met and conquered.

Partiality is common in the writings of historians. Events are described from the personal point of view of the author, and he allows his individual prejudices to sway him. Bayle dwells especially on the one-sidedness of those who write of the Reformation and of Protestantism, but he does not claim that the Catholics alone are at fault in this case; he admits that both sides err. It is an easy matter to so shift the details of history as to produce the effect which the spite or passion of the writer makes him desire. A slight change in word order, the neglect or the addition of some petty incident, can make or destroy the reputation of a historical

historical and mathematical - metaphysical truth. Note the following: ce serait passer d'un genre de choses à un autre, que de demander que l'on prouvât non-seulement qu'il a paru à toute l'Europe qu'il se donna une sanglante bataille à Senef, l'an 1674; mais aussi que les objets sont tels hors de notre esprit, qu'ils nous paraissent.

personage.(1) Bayle states that he reads the accounts of the Catholics and Protestants, not in the hope of getting at the actual facts, but merely from a desire to find out what each side has to say and to discover what particular prejudices prompt each writer.(2) He also comments many times on the partiality of historians who deal with political subjects, where there is no suggestion of religious differences. Flattery and vituperation abound. A history is frequently written for the sole purpose of venting personal malice. The author of such a work does not wait until his anger has cooled, so as to write a fair account; he composes while his passions are still aroused, persuaded, perhaps, that his anger will give him the talent for

1. O. D. II. 10. Apropos of Maimbourg's "Histoire du Calvinisme". Cf. O. D. I. 516.

2. O. D. II. 10-12. Bayle grants the possibility of some degree of certainty in the case of such histories. A fact may be accepted which both sides agree to, however it affects the credit of either. Discernment in weighing the evidence may also be of use. But this is no easy matter, for a clever historian can make the evidence, as he presents it, seem convincing. Cf. O. D. I. 462; O. D. I. 510, IV:
L'Histoire, qui est, à proprement parler, comme ces tableaux et ces Médailles, où l'on ne cherche pas la ressemblance, mais l'habilité de l'Ouvrier.

for writing which he ordinarily lacks. ⁽¹⁾

It is indeed hard, to avoid being partial in writing a history. "Je ne prétends pas qu'il soit facile de composer une histoire qui représente avec une égale sincérité les fautes et la prudence, le tort et le droit, les pertes et les avantages, des deux partis. Il faudrait être l'homme sans passions ou le sage des stoïques, cet homme qu'on

1. D. XIV. 175, Timée, L.

For passing remarks on the partiality of historians, cf. D. III. 258, Bellai (2), F; D. III. 530, Boleyn, B; D. IV. 429, Capriata D; D. V. 70, Charles-Quint, I; D. V. 120, Chatel (2), C; D. VI. 103, Eginhart; D. VI. 323, Endes, B; D. X. 107, Mahomet, II, D; D. X. 114, Mahomet, II, X; D. XIV. 112, Théopompe, H; C. D. I. 202. IV. Gigas. 81, (cf. section IV page , note of the present study, the reference to the letter published by Gigas , 74-85.)

Cf. O. D. I. 510: Voilà, on peu s'en faut, le sort de l'Histoire; chaque nation, chaque Religion, chaque Secte prend les mêmes faits tout crus où ils se peuvent trouver, les accommode et les assaisonne selon son goût, et puis ils semblent à chaque Lecteur vrais ou faux, selon qu'ils conviennent, ou qu'ils répugnent à ses préjugés.

Cf. D. XV. 186-7, Dissert. sur les Libelles Diff. E: comme ce qui est orthodoxie dans une religion est une hérésie dans une autre, ce qui est une bataille gagnée dans les historiens d'une nation est une bataille perdue dans les historiens de l'autre parti, C'est un abus fort ancien, et à quoi l'on ne voit pas de remède.

ne trouvera jamais, et qui ne subsiste qu'en idée;
il faudrait, dis-je, parvenir à cette indolence, si
l'on voulait s'assurer que l'on tiendra toujours ce
juste milieu en écrivant une histoire.⁽¹⁾ For

example, a man who would write of the great Protestant Reformation has a complicated task on his hands and must make a special effort to escape religious prejudice, otherwise he has no right to undertake such an enterprise. Bayle states that there are some who wish that such a history might be written, not by a Protestant or a Catholic, but by a pagan like Thucydides or Livy, who could have looked on the whole matter from a neutral point of view and who could have estimated justly the merits of each party. He adds that here too he doubts whether impartiality could be secured, for Catholicism is more like the religion of the pagans than Protestantism and that might have prejudiced these writers. ⁽²⁾ It is hard for a historian to get away from his predilections

1. D. IV. 427, Capriata, C.

2. D. XII. 505, Rémond, D.

even in cases where there would seem to be no occasion for personal likes and dislikes to enter. Suppose that a historian should give an account of some Indian King who had been dethroned and who died hundreds of years ago. The subject would seem too remote to affect the personal sentiments of the author in any way. Yet he may be an enemy to monarchical government, and in that case he will not fail to shift his facts so as to present the deposed king in an odious light. Or if he has the opposite political leanings, he will write his history accordingly. Again, a historian is led to take advantage of such a subject to indulge in criticism of his contemporaries, under the names of the historical characters dealt with. (1)

Yet whatever difficulties stand in the way of impartiality, Bayle is inclined to insist on it as the prime requisite for a historian. He deplores the practice of those who, when they inquire into the merits of a history seek information about the judgment, the intelligence, and the style of the author, rather than about his honesty. A historian must

1. D. XII. 505-6. Rémond, D.

subject himself to a rigid adherence to the demands of integrity: il faut avoir la conscience si ennemie du mensonge, qu'elle ne vous permette pas de mentir, non pas même à l'avantage de votre religion, et de vos plus tendres amis, ni au désavantage d'une secte impie et de vos plus implacables persécuteurs. J'entends par mentir non-seulement l'invention entière d'un fait faux, mais aussi la suppression ou l'addition de certaines circonstances qui peuvent servir ou à disculper les gens ou à les charger.⁽¹⁾ The duties

1. D. XII. 506-7, Rémond, D.; cf. D. VII 468, Haillan, G; D. VII. 490-1, Hall (2), B; D. XIV, 516, Usson, F; O. D. IV. 863.

Cf. also O. D. IV. 750: Le comble de la gloire pour un Historien, c'est de faire justice à ses plus grands ennemis; D. XII, 504, Rémond, D: Bayle says a historian must have: une conscience droite, une probité achevée; et, sur toutes choses, la force de résister aux instincts du zèle de religion qui sollicitent à décrier ce qu'on juge faux, et à orner ce qu'on juge véritable. This remark is made apropos of a History of the Reformation by Rémond. The attack which Bayle makes here is unjust according to Le Clerc and Joly (cf. foot-note, 2, page 506.)

Cf. D. III. 194, Baudouin, A: on Moréri's account of Baudouin: Où est donc la bonne foi historique, et la netteté de récit, qui demandent que quand tous les autres livres du monde seraient brûlés, la seule histoire d'un homme apprit clairement à tous les lecteurs s'il a dit ou s'il a fait une telle chose?

Cf. C. D. I. 520-1: Il est sûr que plus on se peut défaire de l'esprit de ses préjugés, quand on prend la plume pour faire une histoire, plus on se rend propre à bien soutenir son personnage. O. D. III. 65: against the bigotry of Pellisson in writing a history of Louis XIV.

of a historian are not unlike those of a judge. The judge must not let any prejudice of his own weigh in the decision of a case; it would be eminently unfair for him to favor some particular culprit because he was under personal obligations to the man. Similarly a historian must be bound by no such ties. It is wrong to expect that he should deal gently with the weaknesses of some public character merely because that individual has been his benefactor.⁽¹⁾

In the deplorable partiality which historians show, Bayle sees one of the reasons for the unreliability of historical narrative, for the confusion which prevails concerning details of events.⁽²⁾ Even the evidence of monuments, inscriptions and medals becomes uncertain, since partisan writers dare to

1. D. XIV. 517, Usson, F.

2. Cf. D. I. 77, Abimelech, C; D. V. 275 Concini, G; O. D. II. 14, ii; O. D. III. 732; O. D. II. 53: Here Bayle is speaking of the differences of Protestants and Catholics, and his attitude is distinctly partisan; O. D. III. 219, xxii. Bayle's remark in this case closes an argument de circonstance.

falsify such testimony to suit their needs.⁽¹⁾ Bayle speaks with particular acerbity of the juggling with truth and the chaos which results in the case of so-called historians who describe contemporaneous happenings. Often for political reasons, they write false accounts, spreading them far and wide, and later, when the motives for dissimulation are no longer in force, no one is sufficiently interested to rectify these narratives. Or if there is an attempt to correct the errors, it is apt to be too late; the

1. D. IV. 21, Botéro, C. Apropos of a picture which was published as a faithful representation of a certain triumphal column which the pope Clement VIII erected, a column which, as a matter of fact, never existed, Bayle says: Et quand on se voit attrapé par la montre de ces prétendus monumens publics, on ne sait plus à qui se fier: on ne sait si les médailles, si les inscriptions, si tels autres monumens, sont plus sincères qu'un historien à gages et à pension annuelle; et voilà une confirmation du pyrrhonisme historique.
 Cf. D. XV. 160, Dissert. sur les Libelles Diff. IX: Car si l'antiquité greque, romaine, persane, carthaginoise, etc., en avait usé comme l'on en use aujourd'hui, ils auraient bien de la peine à nous prouver quelque chose, en se fortifiant même du secours des inscriptions et des médailles, monumens que les modernes emploient impunément pour satisfaire leurs caprices, sans se fonder sur un fait réel.

false account has already too strong a hold. The dishonesty of those who compose such stories is criminal. Ce n'est pas assez que de comparer ces indignes écrivains à des harpies, qui salissent tout ce qu'elles touchent: on peut dire que ce sont des bourreaux qui tordent le cou, les bras et les jambes aux faits historiques, et même qui les leur coupent quelquefois, et leur en appliquent des postiches; et cela presque au moment même qu'un événement est sorti du sein de ses causes, et que les exploits d'une bataille ne font que de naître

L'on a dit autrefois des Muses qu'elles se prostituaient même à des esclaves; c'est ce qu'on peut dire principalement de celle qui préside à l'Histoire: c'est un véritable "scortum triobolare," qui se tient sur les grands chemins, et qui se livre au premier venu pour un morceau de pain.⁽²⁾ It is well

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1. Cf. D. XV. 188, Dissert. sur les Libelles Diff., G. Bayle speaks of the need of refuting satires and libels in cases when they have been given some credence as history.
 2. D. XV. 158. Dissert. sur les Libelles Diff., VIII; cf. all of sections VIII and IX in this reference.

that printing is only a modern invention, for had the ancients possessed this means doubtless there would be the same multitude of varied accounts which makes modern history so confused. (1)

1. Bayle comments on the respect which the ancients showed for the dignity of history, in not allowing history to be written except by those who were equipped by their birth and merit: cf. D. XV. 159. History he says should be written by those whom the state chooses; not by any petty chroniclers: cf. D. XV, 157; cf. O. D. I. 261, vii. He mentions the multitude of historical writers in his own day: Lucien, sans le savoir, a fait la peinture de notre siècle, lorsqu'il a parlé d'une guerre qui avait produit un si grand nombre d'historiens, qu'on aurait dit que ce métier était à la mode; cf. D XV. 159.

The gazettes, says Bayle, add much to the confusion of modern history. For the various journalistic publications of his own day which deal with current events he has little sympathy. Although in one place he says in reference to gazettes: C'est une lecture qui n'est pas inutile (a) and although elsewhere he grants that it may be worth while to consult them on account of the public documents reproduced by them, (b) and on account of the dates given, which are usually accurate, (c) yet he feels partiality dominates in these pieces, battles are reported won or lost according to the partisan interest of the writer, and the historian seeking information finds little on which he may rely. (d) The candor of the Romans, who admitted the victories of Hannibal, brings out by striking

Contemporary writers not only say things which are false, but they leave out things which are true. It sometimes happens that an unusual fact is not put on record until long after the event happened, and then only in a single account.⁽¹⁾ Bayle suggests that the omission may be intentional and that again partiality may be at the root of this evil.⁽²⁾ He adds that there are, however, cases where contemporary

contrast the duplicity of these moderns.^(e)

- a. O. D. I. L. 117, lxxiii.
 - b. O. D. III. 590-2, xlvii.
 - c. O. D. III. 591. xlvii; O. D. I. 338, i.
 - d. D. I. 31, Abdérame, G; D. I. 253, Agésilaus⁽²⁾; D. II. 161, Apafi, D; D. VII. 330 Guicciardin, B; D. XV. 179, Dissert. sur les Libelles Diff., B; O. D. I. 338, I; O. D. I. L. 169, cxxiii; O. D. II. 13, iii; O. D. III. 732, II; Gigas, 13-14, 18-29, 72-4.
 - e. Gigas, 21-2, 28-9. For a characterization of three particular gazettes cf. O. D. IV. 595, xlv; on the gazettes of Holland cf. O. D. I. L. 175, cxxxi.
1. D. IV. 505, Cassius (4) H.
 2. Cf. D. I. 459, Alpaide, B. Bayle suggests that the silence of contemporary writers in regard to a certain historic detail may be attributed to their fear of displeasing the sovereign.

writers could not suppress certain facts with any hope of keeping them from the knowledge of the world, and, on that account, cases where the silence of contemporaries about an event is good evidence that it is not authentic. There is then a limit to the truth-twisting of these men, but a limit that is imposed rather by the exigencies of the situation than by any desire to avoid partiality.

Satire and flattery are the two pests of history.⁽¹⁾ Of these two Bayle states that the former

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1. D. X. 298, Marillac ⁽²⁾, A: la satire et la flatterie sont les deux pestes de l'histoire

Cf. D. XI. 598-9, Périclès, H: Bayle speaks of the deplorable effects of satire and flattery. He quotes Plutarch and points out again how this partiality results in augmenting le pyrrhonisme historique. He adds that the abuse is particularly common in his own day: l'on offre tant de victimes au mauvais démon de la haine et de l'envie des peuples, que si les satiriques d'Athènes revenaient au monde, ils se regarderaient comme des novices. D'ailleurs on publie tant d'éloges, que les flatteurs de ce pays-là, s'ils ressuscitaient, seraient convaincus qu'ils n'ont été que des écoliers.

Cf. D. IX. 448, Louis XIII. F: Bayles say the satires and flatteries of contemporary writers may make their evidence as to facts untrustworthy.

Cf. D. IV. 430, Capriata, E: Bayle objects to a historian's dedicating a work to some prince, on the ground that such a dedication may interfere

is the more pernicious, for readers accept the remarks provoked by such a spirit with more sympathy; flattery is base, but satire may be interpreted as prompted by a love of liberty.⁽¹⁾ A historian who practices flattery often fails to convince. Such an author by his exaggerations may make those he flatters ridiculous,⁽²⁾ and may so irritate the reader as to drive him to the opposite extreme and render him unwilling to admit any virtue in the personage described.⁽³⁾ Satire more

with the sincerity of the history: the writer will be inclined to favor and flatter the prince in question if he comes up in the course of the work.

1. Cf. Tacitus, Hist. Lib. I. cap. I: Quippe adulationi foedum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. Bayle quotes this and states that he is merely following the idea of Tacitus: D. X. 298-9, Marillac, A; D. X. 527. Morgues, L.

Cf. O. D. I. 609, ix: Bayle is quite inconsistent, for he states in this case that flattery is more enduring than satire. Il y a je ne sçai quelle fatalité qui fait prévaloir la Flatterie sur la Satyre, généralement parlant; de sorte que d'une infinité de Libelles qui auront paru contre les Grandeurs du monde, à peine s'en trouve-t-il un, cent ans après, pendant que les Relations qui les flattent, ou qui les épargnent, sont entre les mains de toute la terre.

2. O. D. III. 64, xcvi.
3. O. D. III. 64, xcvi.

often attains its end, and so is the more to be deplored. Bayle protests vigorously against the satirical spirit, and against the particular violence which historians show when they write of events in which they have had some personal concern. A writer, ordinarily moderate and modest, tends to give way to his feelings when he composes a history which touches on some one who has persecuted him, and his history then becomes unreliable on account of his bias. And the narrative of a man who is naturally choleric will be all the worse. A historian should leave to his readers the matter of blaming or praising; let him occupy himself solely with presenting the facts. (1)

There is another respect in which partiality is an obstacle to the historian. He must not only

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1. D. XIV. 175, *Timée*, L: Ils (historians) devraient faire un narré qui ne contînt que les principes ou que les prémices du raisonnement; le lecteur tirerait lui-même la conclusion, soit qu'il s'agit de blâmer, soit qu'il s'agit de louer. On the malice of historians, cf. O. D. I. 521.

Cf. D. XIII. 135, Savonarola, H: Bayle suggests that a historian may take sides provided he has first given a faithful narration of the events.

strive to get away from his own prejudices, but he must cope with the prejudices of those upon whose evidence he relies, to a certain extent, for his material, the testimony of those who have been eye-witnesses of events, and of those who have been actually engaged in the making of history. Evidently it is such people who are the least inclined to give unbiased reports.

The value of the testimony of actors in the historical drama and of those who have observed the drama from nearby is undoubtedly great.⁽¹⁾ When an equitable writer who has lived in the house of a princess as one of her suite gives evidence as to the character of the lady, his remarks have weight.⁽²⁾ A man who has lived in close touch with a tyrant can write a book, full of enlightening details, which

1. Cf. D. I. 269, Agis, D.; D. X. 216-7, Marcellin; O. D. I, 80; O. D. I. 295; cf. Bayle's remark on a writer who had travelled much and visited various courts of Europe: Il a raison de prétendre que les lumières qu'on peut acquérir en voyageant sont très-utiles à ceux qui composent une histoire.

2. D. XIV. 518, Usson, F.

will be of great use to the future historian.⁽¹⁾

But the drawback in the case of such testimony is the prejudice of the witness. This same biographer of a tyrant may be trying to make a hero of him, and the intelligent reader needs to be on his guard.⁽¹⁾ There is danger in believing what is said by those who have belonged to households of the great, particularly if they have been favorites with their masters; such men, out of gratitude, suppress the details which do not reflect credit on their lords.⁽²⁾ Statesmen, when questioned about events in which they are concerned, are inclined to suppress inconvenient truths.⁽³⁾ A historian must

1. D. XII. 27, Philistus, D.

2. D. VII. 56, Geldenhaur, K; O. D. III. 909; cf. D. XIV. 367, Vergerius,⁽²⁾ K. Bayle states that when a writer publishes details of the private life of a monarch which are scandalous in character, he should have proofs to present, else he should be given no credence.

3. D. VII. 56, 7, Geldenhaur, L.

be cautious in giving weight to the accusations which controversialists advance against their contemporaries; such accusations must not be considered unless there is satisfactory proof that they are true.⁽¹⁾ Even the edicts and public declarations of sovereigns are unreliable as evidence, for they are apt to contain statements which are not based in any sense on the facts of a case, but are introduced on account of the political needs of the moment. Thus, when a King is obliged to treat with rebels who have fought against him and proved their strength, he may declare in the edict of peace that these men have done nothing against the interests of their ruler, but it is obvious that such a statement is made merely because the other side demands it and has the power to enforce the demand. Similarly the edicts of a court of justice may be colored by the practical needs of a situation.⁽²⁾ Prejudice, also, is apt to be

1. D. III. 410, 11. Bèze, V; cf. especially: Vraiment un historien débiterait de beaux contes, s'il s'amusait à rapporter toutes les injures personnelles que les controversistes se chantent, de quelque religion qu'ils soient.

2. D. X. 306, 7, Marillac, K; cf. O. D. III. 1026, vii.

at the bottom of the reputed death-bed confessions of persons who have played a part in history. Bayle does not believe that a man who has kept secret all his life some fact discreditable to him, will reveal it in his last moments, and he states that the reports of such confessions are frequently popular stories, invented for political or personal reasons.⁽¹⁾

Finally this plague of partiality presents itself in a third form. If the historian should conquer his own prejudices and should cope successfully with the biased statements which make up a part of his testimony, he still has to encounter the partiality of the readers to whom his work is presented. The public at large judge a history in the light of their own preconceived notions. They do not take the same trouble to be fair which the author may have taken, and they will declare those details false which bring

1. D. VII. 373-5, Guise (3), F.

dishonor on their own party. (1) They are unwilling to tolerate the frankness which would impel a writer to admit some fact damaging to his own side. Il y a beaucoup de gens qui souhaitent qu'un historien de leur parti unite les joueurs de piquet, qui ne gardent que les bonnes cartes, et mettent dans leur écart les mauvaises qui leur étaient venues. (2) Evidently the general public is not marked by that absence of passion which is as necessary for judging a history aright as it is for composing one (3)--- and evidently the equitable historian will not easily satisfy the people.

He will experience especial difficulties in satisfying the ruling powers. An author who writes the history

1. D. IV. 427-9. Capriata, C. Bayle states that he echoes the sentiments of Capriata on this point. Cf. D. X. 522-7, Morgues, L: On the way Patin, who is prejudiced against Richelieu, welcomes a history which abuses Richelieu.
2. D. XII. 506, Rémond, D.
3. Cf. D. IV. 422, Capriata, C: . . . si l'on peut dire que pour composer une histoire il faut être vide de toute passion, on peut dire aussi qu'il faut l'être pour juger pertinemment du travail de l'histoire.

On the difficulties which a historian encounters in the prejudices of the reading public, Cf. D. III. 204. Bombus, C: Il y a longtemps qu'on a mis entre les difficultés du métier de l'historien, la coutume qu'ont les lecteurs de prendre pour des mensonges les actions sublimes dont ils se sentent incapables.

of contemporary kings or of those who have only recently died is liable to get into trouble with these monarchs or their followers if he tells unpleasant truths. (1) In such a case a perplexing alternative presents itself: either it is necessary to disregard truth, which is against the laws of history, or it is necessary to irritate the powers that be, which is against the laws of prudence. The better way, suggests Bayle, is to avoid the question completely by not treating such subjects. (2) In speaking of the dangers run by a historian who injures the honour of a powerful people, he says: Rien n'est plus beau dans la théorie que les idées du législateur des historiens: (3) il leur commande de n'oser dire rien qui soit faux, et d'oser dire tout ce qui est vrai; mais ce sont des lois impraticables, tout comme celles du Décalogue dans l'état où le genre humain se trouve. (4)

1. Cf. D. VII. 465, Haillan, E.

2. Cf. D. III. 135, Basta (2), B; D. IV. 376, Camden, K; D. IV. 428, Capriata, C; D. VII. 465, Haillan, E; D. X. 261, Mariana, D.

3. Bayle refers to Cicero.

4. D. III. 548, Bonfadius, D.

Bayle refers several times to these laws of history ne quid falsi audeat, Ne quid veri non audeat. Cf. D. D. IV. 744, cxvii, when he mentions them in excusing him-

Even when partiality is avoided, if that ever happens, there still remain many obstacles in the way of the careful writer who wishes to produce a history that is accurate and complete. History is

self for speaking freely in his dictionary of certain great men; and D. XII, 505, Remond, D, where he names these precepts les deux grands statuts du métier.

Bayle even yields a point as to truth-telling in the case of histories of contemporary rulers. Cf. O. D. I. 114, viii: Mille raisons veulent que pendant la vie des Souverains on ne publie pas leurs défauts, et l'on seroit trop farouche et d'une humeur trop critique si l'on ne souffroit pas sans murmure qu'on les flattât.

He suggest in one case, O. D. I. 158, viii, that the sacred name of monarch should prevent historians from delving into the galantries of a royal family, at least until long after their time; but elsewhere, D. XIV. 517, Usson, F, he excuses a historian for divulging a scandal concerning a contemporary princess - a scandal which was, however, notorious - and he also suggests here that there is no reason why the dignity of princes should save them from injurious truths.

Of precautions taken by rulers in the effort to guard against the publication of historic facts which reflect discredit on them, Bayle says that, after all, they are useless. Time is sure to lay bare the flatteries of historians and to prove the futility of the monarch's attempt to deceive posterity. It is also true that time may free historical characters from calumny. O. D. I. 397, 8; cf. O. D. I. 279.

complicated. There are innumerable facts to be controlled and it is by no means easy to get at them. (1)

Bayle refers frequently to the need of exactness and completeness. (2) He has hot words of blame for those

1. D. V. 449, Déjotarus, O; D. VIII. 205 Horace, A; D. IX. 295, Loges, F; D. X. 186, Mancinellus, B; D. XI. 280-1, Othon III. B. D.; O. D. I. 185-6.
2. D. I. 260, Agésilaus (2), L; D. I. 463, Altaemps, A; D. IV. 540, Castalion, L; D. V. 283, 4, Conon (2), A; D. VI. 248, Erfort, C; D. VIII. 344, Jean, A; D. X. 432-4, Micraelius, D; D. XV. 317, 8
Eclaircissement sur les Pyrrhoniens V; O. D. I. 12; O. D. I. 674; O. D. I. 92, V; O. D. III 547, xxvii, 549; cf. D. XIV 440, Virgile, (2) A: on the boldness of historians in confirming what is doubtful.

Cf. O. D. I. 677, vi, where Bayle's commends a book which gives details concerning the History of the Middle Ages. This subject, he adds, is so hard, and there is such difficulty in handling the documents that historians neglect it far too much.

There are passing comments on the need of exactness and completeness in biographies Cf. D. II, 568, Aurélien, A; D. III, 439, Bigot (2), G; D. V. 124, Chatel (2), G; D. VII, 461, Haillan; D. X. 316, Marot, E; D. XVI. 25-6, Avert. sur 2^e Ed. There are no remarks worth noting on biography as a literary genre.

Bayle mentions a number of documents of miscellaneous character which may offer material that is useful to a historian; O. D. I. 221: he suggests that a poem may contain valuable details of fact: Cela rappelle dans ma memoire ce que j'ai oui dire à des gens de fort bon sens, qu'un Recueil de Chansons est une Pièce très-utile à un Historiographe;

who allow their imagination to make up for the documentary evidence which they are too careless to seek. He attacks fiercely a certain historian, Guévara, who dared to invent historic details out of whole cloth and use them as authentic, and who later excused himself on the basis that history was so uncertain that a little extra invention did no harm. La licence qu'il se donna de falsifier tout ce que bon lui semblait, et de débiter comme des faits véritables, ce qui n'était que les inventions de son cerveau creux, approche de celle des faiseurs de romans..... C'était donc un empoisonneur public et un séducteur; et, dans la tribunal de la république des lettres, il méritait le châtiment des profanes et des sacrilèges, car il violait ce qu'il y a de plus sacré dans l'art

D. II. 506, 7, Atticus, H: A genealogy of the Roman magistrates would be useful, Bayle says, but he does not apply the remark directly to history; D. V. 313, Cratérius, A: a collection of the decrees of the people of Athens would have settled many questions if it had not been lost; C. D. I. 605; A collection of the lives of the favorites of various rulers might contain considerable information, if such a book should be written. Cf. O. D. IV. 736.

historique. (1) Historians who have succeeded in making a reputation for themselves must be especially careful, for their authority is considerable and many writers depend upon them for their facts. (2)

From time to time Bayle discusses some of the problems which come up in connection with this matter of accuracy. When a historian treats of a period earlier than his own he may derive valuable information from historians of that period. Even if these writers are rough and ignorant men they can be relied upon to furnish useful material, for the very fact that they are describing what happened in their own day means that they have recorded many details which would occur only to those who have the

1. D. VII. 322, 3. Guévara, B; cf. ditto D.
 On historians who permit their imagination - and partiality - to sway them, cf. O. D. III. 758: Voilà, Monsieur, les illusions à quoi s'exposent les Historiens en mille rencontres, lorsqu'au lieu de consulter les pièces originales, les actes publics, les preuves certaines des faits, ils s'abandonnent à leur imagination, et aux jalousies nationales.

2. D. XII. 375. Quellenec, A. Apropos of Mézerai.



events fresh in mind. (1) Bayle points out the fact that certain histories of current events in his own day offer valuable data for a historian and collect fugitive documents worth having. (2)

Popular tradition offers a perplexing problem to the historian who is searching for facts. A multitude of stories spring up among the people, concerning events, as soon as they take place. Often false reports are spread at the same time as the true ones and sometimes the false precede the true, so that a mass of tradition is handed down where the fictitious and the real facts are mingled together and where the one kind has just as much the authority of age as the other. Sometimes the false report is spread and is never followed by the true one. (3)

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1. Cf. O. D. I. 222, ii; O. D. I. 32; cf. ref. to this art. of the Nouvelles in Gigas. 691, J. Le Clerc, note 1; cf. also D. XI. 359. Papesse, A.
 2. O. D. I. 588 vii. Here Bayle refers to a Relation Historique de ce qui s'est fait par tout le monde, depuis le mois de Juin; 1685, (a book published in 1686), and O. D. I, 628, i, to a Histoire abrégée de l'Europe pour le mois de Juillet, etc. (published in 1686.)
 3. D. XIV. 518, Usson, F.

Bayle comments especially on the extreme difficulty of getting at the facts of a tradition concerning some miraculous happening and on the futility of conjectures in cases where the circumstances are not well known. The reports of various authors conflict, the learned have one story, the people another, pious frauds abound. It is not surprising that it should be hard to clear up a tradition of this kind concerning an earlier period since there are so many discrepant accounts about contemporary events of the sort, ⁽¹⁾ Reports are exaggerated more and more as they are spread about; le dernier qui parle est presque toujours le plus decisif et le plus chargé de faits. Il semble qu'il s'agisse d'une emplette d'enoan, où l'on enchérit les uns sur les autres, parce que la marchandise n'est adjudée qu'au plus offrant et dernier enchérisseur. ⁽²⁾

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1. D. IV. 577-80, Cataldus, B, C. Bayle protests against the audacity of a man who wrote an extravagant account of a certain miraculous event and claimed the account authentic.
 2. D. VIII. 50, Henri III. S.

There is, naturally enough, little evidence of which a historian can make use in such traditions. It is certain that the fact that a majority of the people believe in a story proves nothing as to its authenticity.⁽¹⁾ A careful man who has a tradition called to his attention will find out whether it has ever been put into writing or whether it is merely a report which has come down orally for generations, and if the latter is the case he will disregard it.⁽²⁾ The authority of traditions which attack those who have incurred popular hatred on account of their oppressions is particularly doubtful. Here the question of partiality comes up once more. The people welcome any report which reflects discredit on such persons, and do not investigate its source. Then, as generations pass, these traditions shift until they become absolutely unreliable.⁽³⁾ There are only two cases in which the reports that

1. O. D. III. 205, xii.

2. Cf. D. VI. 279, Esope ⁽²⁾, B. Of traditions touchant la vie d'un particulier.

3. D. XI. 473, Paul II. D.

spread among the people call for consideration. Il ne faut jamais faire cet honneur à de tels bruits qu'en ces deux cas: l'un, lorsqu'ils sont très-vraisemblables; l'autre, lorsqu'on les veut charger d'une note de réprobation, c'est-à-dire, les réfuter et les siffler. En ce dernier cas, il est très-utile de rapporter ces sortes de traditions, parce que rien n'est plus propre à inspirer de la défiance contre les rapports de la renommée, que de faire voir à son siècle la sotte et ridicule crédulité des précédens. ⁽¹⁾

There may be instances where a historian is under obligation, in the interest of completeness, to narrate events which he himself believes false. ⁽²⁾

Bayle states that it may become the historian's duty to give an account of certain prodigies or miracles which are generally reputed to have accompanied some event. If the best authorities and the best historic monuments attest the authenticity of such a marvel,

1. D. III. 51-2, Balde, C. Cf. D. VI. 157, Euclpius, B.

2. Cf. O. D. III, 280: les plus célèbres Historiens de de l'antiquité ont reconnu qu'il y avoit certaines choses qu'ils n'avoient nul droit de supprimer quoi qu'ils ne les crussent pas.

the new historian must record it faithfully. The record of such superstitions is curious and instructive: un Historien qui raconte la terreur qu'une Comete, qu'une éclipse, qu'une inondation exciterent dans un pays, à cause qu'on les prenoit pour des présages sinistres, et qui n'oublie pas les processions, et les autres cérémonies religieuses qui furent ordonnées pour détourner ces présages, ne sort nullement de la sphere d'Historien, car ce sont des faits, aussi curieux, aussi instructifs que les batailles, que les sieges, que les traitez d'alliance.⁽¹⁾ The historian is of course at liberty to state that he believes the prodigy utterly false. A writer who announces his skepticism does well, for he sometimes saves his readers from being misled.⁽²⁾ No harm would come of his expressing his unbelief every time that such a case is referred to. But on that Bayle does not insist, and he is inclined to be satisfied with

1. O. D. III. 282, lxiii.

2. Cf. the following remark apropos of the same question: Tout bon historien qui raconte ce qu'il juge fabuleux, y joint un on dit ou quelque clause qui témoigne encore plus nettement ce qu'il en pense; etc. D. VII. 232, Grégoire I^{er}, R.

a general statement at the outset that the writer does not vouch for all the traditions which he thinks it worth while to set forth. (1)

Although these stories of miracles must be heeded when they are widespread, the demand for completeness in history-writing does not require treating them if they are little known. Traditions concerning miraculous or other events having no authentic basis and preserved in no written record may well be ignored. Yet even where there is no written account of a prodigy, the absence of a more authoritative basis may be due to the reluctance of contemporary writers to mention a detail which would bring them into disrepute with the ruling powers. On such an instance, the historian must weigh the evidence and, if he thinks it worth while, present the tradition, explaining the circumstances. (2)

1. O. D. III. 281: Bayle adds that a discussion of how much fact there is in such traditions is permissible, but that the discussion must not turn into partisan controversy, where the tradition is supported or opposed according to the prejudice of the writer.

2. O. D. III. 280.

But while the narration of prodigies is allowable and even to be recommended under some conditions, historians are inclined to carry the practice much too far. Much untruth has been brought into history by their extreme readiness to record and affirm marvellous happenings.⁽¹⁾ Historians seem to have a particular weakness for such tales. Je ne sai s'ils croient que leurs Histoires paroîtroient trop simples, s'ils mêloient aux choses arrivées selon le cours du monde, quantité de prodiges et d'accidens surnaturels: ou s'ils espèrent que par cette sorte d'assaisonnemens, qui reviennent fort au goût naturel de l'homme, ils tiendront toujours en haleine leur Lecteur, en lui fournissant toujours de quoi admirer, ou bien s'ils se persuadent que la rencontre de ces coups miraculeux signalera leur Histoire dans le tems à venir; mais quoi qu'il en soit, on ne peut nier que les Historiens ne se plaisent extrêmement à compiler tout ce qui sent le miracle.⁽²⁾ This tendency has a bearing

1. O. D. III. 280.

2. O. D. III. 10, 11.

on the question of the relation of poetry and history. Those who claim that the relation is a close and a desirable one, and that to be a historian one must be a poet, are exposed in this case to the attacks of critics who may say that here indeed these two genres have a common characteristic since they both display this weakness for the marvellous.⁽¹⁾ History should not be so characterised. The introduction of marvellous and supernatural elements such as a reader has a right to expect in a piece of poetry, has no place in history; it conflicts with the simplicity and naturalness which must be found in historical writing. Bayle criticises Herodotus for not recognising this distinction between poetry and history and

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1. O. D. III, 11, v. On the love of historians for the marvellous, cf. O. D. III, 62, xciv, 64, xcvi, 66; O. D. I. 626. vii.

Cf. O. D. I. 531, ii, where Bayle speaks of the complaint that there are no longer any prodigies and marvellous happenings in his day as there were in the ages gone by, and says that future historians will supply the want and credit the XVII century with as many marvels as the previous centuries.

for bringing the miraculous into his work. (1)

A history should be written in a style that is clear and natural; les veritables regles de l'art Historique demandent beaucoup d'ordre, un stile net, court, simple, sans affectation, sans figures, ni autres ornemens oratoires..... (2)

Various references show that Bayle is inclined to insist on clearness as a prime requisite. (3) It is

1. D. XII. 358, Psammitichus, B. On the unreliability of historians who report prodigies, cf. D. VI. 160, Ephore, A. Bayle quotes Seneca here.

2. O. D. I. 202, iv.

3. Cf. D. IV. 426, Capriata: Bayle praises Capriata as a historian and says: Il expose les faits avec une grande netteté, il en développe les motifs, et les instrumens, et les suites D. XII. 504, Rémond, D: Elle (history) demande un homme qui ait un style noble, clair et serré D. X. 433, Michraëlius, D: Un historien exact choisit ses paroles avec tout de soin, qu'il ne donne pas à deviner à ses lecteurs si les assiégeans se retirèrent d'eux-mêmes, ou s'ils attendirent qu'on les attaquât.

O. D. I. 588, vi: L'abdication de cette Reine (Christine) se voit ici narrée fort nettement; c'est une des bonnes qualités de cet Auteur (Pufendorf) que la netteté d'esprit: son style est noble, grave, et coulant, et n'a point d'affectation.

O. D. I. L. 24. Il (Duverdier) conserve fort le caractère d'un Historien, enchainant bien les matieres en découvrant les motifs, et écrivant avec beaucoup de netteté et de clarté.

necessay to bring out the striking traits of the person-ages described, in such a way as to give the greatest enlightenment to the readers.⁽¹⁾ As to conciseness, Bayle suggests in one place that a historian who is notably concise affords less instruction than one who is blameworthy for being prolix;⁽²⁾ but elsewhere he suggests that too many details may obscure the really important facts.⁽³⁾ There is a knack of indicating details briefly, so that valuable information is given without lengthiness. The desire of historians to appear learned sometimes makes them indulge in long digressions which introduce a multitude of details having little relation to the text. Such, for example, would be the remarks of one who reports the appearance of a comet, and goes on to discuss the influence of the heavenly bodies on human events. The practice is reprehensible. Furthermore, the weight

1. D. V. 559, Domitia Longina, A. Cf. ditto, C.

2. D. XV. 150, 1. Dissert. sur les Libelles Diff. III.
The ancient historians were too concise, says Bayle. Cf. ref. in (4)

3. D. XII. 38, Phlegon, A.

4. D. II. 271, Archélaus ⁽⁴⁾, K.

of these writers as chroniclers of historical facts which they are supposed to have investigated does not give authority to the statements made in digressions concerning other spheres of knowledge.⁽¹⁾ Since Bayle demands simplicity and lack of affectation he naturally does not demand polish. But he seems to think that attention to details of euphony, the kind of attention paid by an orator to such matters, is permissible provided it is not extreme.⁽²⁾

Although simplicity is so desirable in a historian's style, a reasonable effort to produce vivid and striking narrative is to be recommended. The power of expression which belongs to an orator or a poet may be most useful here, provided, of

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1. O. D. III. 11, vi. Cf. D. XIV. 110, Théopompe, F, where Bayle objects vigorously to a criticism of Tacitus and declares the attack on his digressions unjust and extravagant. (Cf. section XI. p. 196, note 1, of the present study.)
 2. D. XIV. 107, Théopompe: Concerning care as to euphony and harmony in style Bayle says: il y a sans doute je ne sais quelle petitesse dans ces sortes d'affectations, lorsque la grandeur et la majesté du sujet doit attirer toute l'attention de l'écrivain. But he adds that a moderate care in avoiding la rencontre des voyelles is allowable.

course, that flourish and pomp are avoided. (1) Bayle has considerable praise for Maimbourg on the score of the interesting way in which he writes history. He states that it would be a great boom to the republic of letters if those who have much more learning and exactness than Maimbourg should be able to give their writings the same attractiveness. (2) It is true, of course, that the vividness which a writer is able to put into his account depends much upon the subject matter he has to deal with. War, battles, revolutions, brilliant and stirring events -- such are the themes which awaken the eloquence of the author and the interest of the reader. Un historien qui n'a point de grands événemens à décrire s'endort

1. Cf. section III. pages 11, 12 of the present study. Cf. D. XIV. 106, Théopompe, C: in this case Bayle brings up the question whether orators and poets are fitted to be historians, but adds no comment of his own except to suggest there is considerable danger of a flowery style in histories written by such men.
2. D. X. 137, Maimbourg, D; cf. O. D. II. 19, iv. Cf. O. D. I, 27, iii. Here Bayle suggests that perhaps Maimbourg has found le secret de donner à l'Histoire l'air du Roman, et au Roman l'air de l'Histoire, ce qui n'est pas un don médiocre

sur son ouvrage, et fait bâiller ses lecteurs; mais
une guerre civile, deux ou trois conspirations,
autant de batailles, les mêmes chefs tantôt abattus,
tantôt relevés, aiguissent sa plume, échauffent
son imagination, et tiennent toujours en haleine
ceux qui lisent. Je crois franchement que si on
lui commandait de faire l'histoire d'un règne
pacifique, et, tout d'une pièce, il se plaindrait
de son sort à peu près comme Caligula se plaignit
de ce que sous son empire il n'arrivait pas de grands
malheurs..... Son ouvrage est un vaisseau qui ne
vogue jamais mieux qu'en temps de tourmente: la
tempête est son bon vent: le calme lui est aussi
contraire qu'à un vaisseau effectif.⁽¹⁾ But,

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1. D. VIII. 92. Hercule, R. Bayle adds that the taste which prefers accounts of military prowess to descriptions of the virtues men show in time of peace is a depraved, but a very wide-spread one. He deplores the same tendency to prefer the brilliant to the solid in the case of poets and orators and in the case of the public to whom these writers appeal. Cf. O. D. I. 587, vi, where Bayle says the exploits of the great Gustavus Adolphus make a fine subject for a history.

On the question of how a historian may be helped by the nature of the subject he deals

however much a writer is helped or hindered by his subject matter, Bayle evidently thinks that he must devote attention to the vividness of his narrative.⁽¹⁾

with, cf. D. VI. 628, Furius, D: Il arrive aux historiens la même chose qu'à un voyageur: ils rencontrent de temps en temps certaines matières qui sont comme des bourbiers, ou comme un chemin uni, large, bien pavé, etc. But here Bayle refers to a case where a certain event is useful to a partisan historian in enabling him to reflect credit on the historical personage whom he favors. The same event is, of course, awkward for the writers on the other side.

1. It does not strike Bayle that the speeches attributed by historians to generals whose exploits they narrate, Thucydidean speeches, that is, lend any vividness to an account. His only comment on such harangues is as to their unreliability. D. IV. 507, Cassius (4), L.

VII.

SCHOLARSHIP.

For the writer of the Dictionnaire Historique et Critique scholarship is of course a matter of extreme importance. Bayle has a high regard for learning, and for the erudite critic who is occupied with collating facts and eliminating errors in the world of things learned. He is alert to defend the enthusiasms of scholars for the fine points of their trade, and he has a variety of comments to make as to how scholars shall maintain a standard of excellence commensurate with the dignity of their calling.

It is in the advance notice published by Bayle concerning the aims of his own dictionary that he takes up the question of the utility of that critical research work in which so much attention is paid to a minute exactness. He grants that such labors are eminently impractical, that they have no value in supplying daily bread. Indeed were man an entirely reasonable creature he would concern himself only with the salvation of his soul and with procuring the amount of nourishment necessary to keep the soul allied to the body during his allotted days. But things mundane being as they are it is a fact that man finds

interest and pleasure in study, as well as in Belles Lettres and the arts. Il faut donc, malgré qu'on en ait, que l'on m'accorde qu'il y a une infinité de productions de l'esprit humain qui sont estimées, non pas à cause de leur nécessité, mais à cause qu'elles nous divertissent; et sur ce pied-là n'est-il pas juste de remarquer les faussetés des auteurs, puisqu'il y a tant de gens qui se plaisent à savoir la vérité, jusque dans les choses où leur fortune est la moins intéressée?

N'est-il pas certain qu'un cordonnier, qu'un meunier, qu'un jardinier, sont infiniment plus nécessaires à un État que les plus habiles peintres ou sculpteurs, qu'un Michel Ange, ou qu'un cavalier Bernin? N'est-il pas vrai que le plus chétif maçon est plus nécessaire, dans une ville, que le plus excellent chronologue ou astronome, qu'un Joseph Scaliger ou qu'un Copernic? On fait néanmoins infiniment plus de cas du travail de ces grands hommes, dont on se pourrait fort bien passer, que du travail absolument nécessaire de ces artisans. Tant il est vrai qu'il y a bien des choses dont on ne règle le prix que par rapport à un honnête divertissement, ou à un simple ornement de l'âme. (1) The utility of

1. D. XV. 239. Dissert. cont. le Projet, viii, Cf. ditto 238: Il faut avouer, d'autre côté, n'en déplaît à Cicéron, que toutes les beautés de la peinture, de la sculpture, de l'architecture, ne servent

learning, then, is nil, as far as practical considerations go. But it is in the nature of man to take an interest in the details of erudition, his truth-seeking instinct makes him want to know things that have no material effect on his daily life. Certainly Bayle believes this instinct worth catering to, certainly he approves this high ideal of veritas. He adds, in the same dissertation, that critical work is of real moral benefit. Man is humbled when he is brought face to face with the vanity of the human intelligence, when his attention is called to the innumerable faults of men of learning. (1)

qu'au plaisir des yeux, et à donner une agréable admiration aux connaisseurs. Cf. D. XVI, 1, 2, Préf. de la 1^e Ed.; especially: Il est certain que la découverte des erreurs (in fact) n'est importante ou utile ni à la prospérité de l'État, ni à celle des particuliers.

Cf. O. D. I. 125, iv; Especially: Ce n'est donc point par rapport à l'utilité publique qu'il faut juger si un Auteur mérite des louanges. Quelles que soient ses occupations, il faut regarder s'il a été nécessaire d'employer beaucoup d'esprit, pour arriver au point où il est venu. C'est à cette règle que nous devons proportionner notre admiration et les louanges que nous donnons à la beauté du génie.

1. D. XV. 241-3, Dissert. cont. le Projet, ix.

Bayle also adds, ditto, p. 240, that the attention paid to the minute details of erudition concerning the ancients has had a fortuitous but most happy result. This kind of study inspired a certain veneration for the ancients, and on account of this spirit of reverence the splendid maxims of the ancients are received with particular respect.

The value our author places on things erudite is evident from the emphasis with which he deplores the lack of interest in learning in his own time. (1) A servant who has a vast collection of facts concerning chronology, geography, mythology, who can elucidate difficult passages in the ancient writers and explain grammatical points -- such a man is no longer esteemed. It is the practice to stigmatize as pedantry the study of such details. Hence young men who have the gifts that would enable them to do scholarly work, turn away from an occupation which offers no chance of honor or renown. Certain beaux-esprits or would be beaux-esprits condemn the introduction into the writings of an author of citations from the ancients and of other comments which suggest learning. They even attack this practice in the case of polished writers like Costar and Voiture. There is an excellent pretext for taking this position; it is easy to claim that there is more credit in thinking for oneself than in accumulating the thoughts of others. (2) Bayle

1. D. X. 427, 8, Méziriac, C.

2. It is just enough to protest against such citations, says Bayle, when they are inapt and when they are introduced to prove what every one knows.

admits the truth of the statement but he holds that it is used as an excuse by men who are too superficial and indolent to devote themselves to learning, men who would be glad to make use of erudition if they possessed it. It is a shame that the condition of learning has fallen so low. (1)

Bayle's sympathy with the efforts of scholars and with their mode of life is apparent. He understands how a man of learning may desire to lead a life of se-

1. In this same reference (cf. above, p. 104, note 1) Bayle cites three instances of the unpopularity of things erudite. His remarks on the subject are provoked by the slight interest shown in a commentary on Apollodorus by Méziriac. He also refers to the publication of a translation of Homer to which the original is not added apparently because the Greek characters would turn away the reader, and he speaks of the small favor with which the public received a book treating the mistakes in erudition found in Télémaque.

As to what the condition of learning is in his own day, Bayle is by no means consistent. He comments elsewhere, O. D. I. 180, ii, on the great interest that is being taken in archeological studies, and in the notice concerning his Dictionary, D. XV. 237-8, he claims that never before has more attention been paid to the correction of facts in things of erudition. This notice is dated May 5, 1690. The remarks in reference (1) p. 104, were evidently written in 1700, for there is a reference to the Nouvelles de la République des lettres du mois dernier and a foot note states that this number of the Nouvelles is the one for November 1700.

clusion and how he may get a maximum of satisfaction out of devoting himself wholly to study. (1) Those savants are indeed fortunate, he says, who can work fourteen or fifteen hours a day without injuring their health. (2) And he indicates his own preference for that kind of an existence which a true eruditus finds so attractive. (3)

The advice which Bayle gives concerning the studies of his younger brother indicates his ideas as to what should be the training of a scholar and as to what should be the characteristics of the finished product. (4) This matter of training he considers to be of the utmost importance; the education which a youth receives, in the

1. D. VIII. 494, Junius, (3) C.
Cf. D. III. 304, Bembus, U.
2. D. VII. 482, Hall, B. As for the rest, Bayle adds, who are not blessed with such robust constitutions, they do well to take care of themselves; they will accomplish more in the long run and be more useful to the Republic of Letters by producing a little each day and keeping well. If they devote themselves with too much zeal to their labors they break down, and lose time in the end.
3. D. XVI. 8, Préface de la 1^e Ed., II.
D. XV. 224, Dissert. Cont. le Projet.
4. O. D. I. L. 32-5.

formative period of his life, stamps him forever. (1) The method to be followed in education should be determined in every case by the needs of the individual; a teacher should understand the mentality of the student and his special requirements and direct him accordingly. For that reason there must not be a rigid observance of set rules -- but a few general principles are worth mentioning.

Careful scholarship and ability to make intelligent use of one's learning are the essentials. Bayle writes his brother to devote himself to Latin, Greek and History, and emphasizes the need of exactness in this work. In the study of languages the brother shall busy himself with the technicalities of grammar until he has thoroughly mastered the details, and he shall pay careful attention to the literary expression, to allusions, to the exact meaning of each sentence. In this way he will attain two objects at once: he will learn the language, and he will come to appreciate and understand the thoughts of the author. He shall be as rigidly exact in getting the full significance of what he reads in these languages as though he had to

1. O. D. I. L. 26, X. Cf. O. D. IV. 583, xl.

Bayle regrets that he did not have more guidance in his own education. O. D. I. L. 37.

come before examiners who would compel him to explain the slightest details of thought and expression. The habit of thinking about what is read, and answering such imaginary questions, accustoms the mind to form clear conceptions, to make use of its knowledge. This is vital, car ce n'est pas être savant que de ne se savoir pas servir de sa science, tout de même qu'un soldat qui est si embarrassé de ses armes qu'il ne peut se remuer, n'est pas un véritable soldat. (1)

History is to be studied with the same care for details and with the same attention to intelligent thinking. Maps and chronological tables are important in helping to establish events in their relationships one to another. The exact understanding of the facts of history is essential but this is not all. Events must be considered carefully as to causes, as to the fundamental reason for this or that particular development; historical personages must be studied as to the important traits of their characters, as to what mo-

1. O. D. I. L. 32.

Bayle does not believe in methods which purport to teach four or five languages at the same time. These methods are either worked out by charlatans who seek advertisement, or by savants who are particularly keen in perceiving the fundamental relations of things. The quacks are ridiculous, the scholars are too erudite for youthful minds. C. D. I. L. 37.

tives prompted their actions, why they failed in some enterprises and succeeded in others. Get the facts and then think about them. Do not try to run through many books; read less and retain more. (1)

While the young scholar is learning how to read and how to turn his reading to account there is another consideration for him to bear in mind constantly. He must avoid pedantry, (2) he must not publish the fact that he is

1. O. D. I. L. 33. Cf. section VI, pp. 54-56 of the present study.

On the matter of getting the right habits as a reader, cf. O. D. I. 678. i: C'est déjà beaucoup que d'avoir une bonne Bibliothèque, mais le principal est de s'en bien servir, soit par l'assiduité au travail, soit par les talens que l'on a reçus de la Nature. O. D. I. L. 47, xxviii: J'appelle voyages d'esprit une lecture vaste et illimitée de toutes sortes de Livres. Si on les entreprend ces voyages-là, avant que les forces soient venues, c'est-à-dire, avant que d'avoir posé un bon fondement pour les matériaux que l'on va chercher de tous côtés, on risque de voir bien-tôt son bâtiment renversé. O. D. IV. 863: Ceux qui ont lu d'une façon vague toutes sortes de Livres, savent un peu de tout, et ne possèdent rien à fond, etc.

2. O. D. I. L. 34.

Bayle indicates a number of times his objection to pedantry: D. II. 181, Apollinaris, D; D. IV. 481, Catéromachus, B; O. D. I. 144, v: O. D. IV. 729, clxxxv

a student or try to air his learning. When he is out among his fellows he must adapt himself to their conversation and refrain from obtruding his own remarks on things learned. It is a good thing for him not to stick too closely to his books, for him to take an interest in social activities; ⁽¹⁾ in that way he will come to know the world.

Such are Bayle's counsels to his brother. The theme dwelt on with the most insistence here, the need of absolute accuracy, is one that is repeated again and again throughout his writings. There are many general comments on the subject and various remarks on the demand for accuracy in particular kinds of scholarly work.

A savant must have complete and exact control of the facts of the case with which he is dealing. Apropos of

1. Cf. D. IX. 302, Loyer. Bayle states that it is possible and desirable to be both learned and polished: O. D. I. L. 75; cf. O. D. I. L. 38, 67; Cf. O. D. I. L. 175: Bayle advocates science du monde for students; Cf. D. V. 321, Crémonin, A: Bayle approves of a professor whose conversation outside of the class-room was more polished and pleasant than learned; Cf: O. D. III. 505, 6: Une érudition médiocre accompagnée de politesse, fait souvent beaucoup plus d'honneur qu'une érudition profonde sans politesse. Ce goût-là règne assez en France présentement, et l'on s'appergoit que les gens de Lettres s'y conforment.

this Bayle says: La maxime de Descartes est la plus raisonnable du monde, que pour éviter de se tromper il n'est rien tel que de suspendre son jugement jusqu'à ce qu'on ait examiné les choses avec la dernière exactitude, et qu'il n'y a point de source d'erreurs plus féconde que la précipitation de juger . . . (1) He refers many times to the necessity of consulting sources in order to get these facts. (2) And when a scholar has control of the facts he must use them absolutely as he finds them, and not remodel them to suit his own requirements. (3) Exactness is demanded in the finest points. The minutest details concerning manuscripts, (4) different editions, (5)

1. O. D. I. 1. 99. lxxvi. Cf. O. D. I. 300: rien ne fait plus de tort aux Critiques, aussi bien qu'aux Philosophes que de se hâter à prendre leurs conclusions.
2. D. I. 404, Aloman, A; D. II. 49, Anaxagoras, K; D. II. 443, Arsénus (3), A; D. VI. 171, Epicure, C. ; D. XVI. 8, Préf. de la 1^e Ed. III; O. D. III. 729, 30.
3. D. I. 3, Aaaron, C; D. I. 200, Adam, D; D. III. 237, Beaumont, I; D. XII. 7, Phasis, A.
4. D. II. 476, Artémise (2), C.
5. D. I. 432, Alegambe, B; D. IX. 577, Luther, G.G.

the spelling of proper names, (1) dates, (2) the titles of books referred to, (3) typographical errors (4) --- all these have their importance and must be given attention.

The remarks made by Bayle in the Préface which he writes for Furetière's Dictionary show the important place he gives to exactness in the case of lexicography. (5) In commending Furetière's work he mentions especially its completeness, the variety of subjects treated, the excellence of the examples given, the remarks on the different arts and sciences. (6) These details, he adds, make the book in-

1. D. I. 214, Adam (3), H; D. III. 385, Bérulle, note 13; D. VI. 163, Ephore, B; O. D. I. 375.

2. D. I. 99, Abulfeda, B; D. X. 338, Marsus, C.

3. D. II. 119, Annat, C.

4. D. III. 88, Barbarus (2), A.

Apropos of accuracy in regard to various points,
 2 Cf: D. XV. 236, Dissert. Cont. le Projet; D. XV. 380 Préface... Dict. de Moréri; D. XV. 384, Préface... Dict. de Moréri; D. IV. 425, Cappadoce, K; O. D. I. 102, Avertissement; O. D. III. 523-4, XV; cf. also D. II. 103, Andronicus, B: Bayle grants that great exactness is frequently tiresome for the reader; cf. also D. III. 153, Basnage, C: Les fautes sont comme les étincelles: ce qui n'est d'abord que le changement d'une lettre, devient quelquefois une complication ou un amas de faussetés monstrueuses.

5. O. D. IV. 188-93.

6. O. D. IV. 189.

teresting as well as complete and exact. One very praiseworthy feature is the accuracy of the definitions. These careful definitions are not only good as such but they give valuable training to the reader by getting him into the habit of thinking clearly and justly. ⁽¹⁾ It is to be expected that many corrections will have to be made in Furetière's work, for a dictionary is always open to improvement; it could hardly be otherwise in the case of a book where there is such a demand for precision and fullness. ⁽²⁾ Bayle recommends attention, in writing a dictionary, to archaic words and their exact meanings as established by passages from the old writers, to dialects, and to etymology. ⁽³⁾

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1. O. D. IV. 190. C'est un mal peu réel pour la Société civile, que d'ignorer la propriété de plusieurs termes: mais il n'est point de profession, où la justesse d'expression ne soit d'un usage merveilleux; et c'est une grande préparation pour l'acquérir, que de s'accoutumer de bonne heure à parler des choses de son ressort selon les notions qu'un bon Dictionnaire en fournit.
 2. O. D. IV. 192: Un Dictionnaire est un de ces livres qui peuvent être améliorés à l'infini . . . ; cf. D. IV. 367, Camden, D; O. D. I. 50, iii., O. D. IV, 688.
 3. O. D. IV. 192, 3.

He also speaks, in this same Preface, of the usefulness of dictionaries and the favor with which they are received in his own day, and he claims that the French have done particularly good work in dictionary-making, although their temperament would seem to fit them for work that required more esprit and less patience.⁽¹⁾

1. O. D. IV. 183,9. Bayle cites Robert and Henri Etienne and Du Cange as excellent lexicographers.

For another reference to Furetière's Dictionary Cf. O. D. IV. 801. Cf. the remark: Il seroit donc nécessaire, qu'il y eut des explications de toutes sortes de mots dans cette espèce d'Ouvrages; faute de quoi, il faut passer, en lisant, sur des mots, sans les entendre.

The Dictionary of Furetière is quite different from that of the Academy. The object of the latter, as well as of the Academy itself, is to polish the French language so as to make it a ready instrument for literary expression. Furetière on the other hand pays much more attention to general information concerning the terms used in the various arts and sciences and professions; the question whether a term is poli or not does not especially concern him. Bayle expresses the hope that the Academy will cease to be antagonistic to Furetière's Dictionary, though he grants that Furetière indulged in severe satire against its members. O. D. IV. 191, 2. The above characterization of Furetière's Dictionary applies only to the first edition, as the editor of Bayle's Oeuvres Diverses explains in a note (p. 191.) Bayle speaks of the slowness with which the Academy produced its Dictionary, in one case, O. D. IV. 191, to excuse this, in another, O. D. II. 169, to blame it. Cf. O. D. IV. 753, Réflex. sur un Imprimé, etc; Bayle says of the Academy Dictionary: il vogue à pleines voiles vers l'immortalité.

In critical editions and in the commentaries of savants on the writings of the ancients Bayle insists again on exactness and attention to details. He approves highly of the effort to have a text that is reliable and correct. The numberless commentaries on text variants, which resulted from the revival of knowledge in Western Europe and the consequent attention to Latin and Greek, are for the most part unsatisfactory. It requires much discrimination to be a good commentator. An editor must be familiar with the original manuscripts, must give a full account of all previous textual criticism, and must add, finally, the results of his own study. (1) The notes of an editor may be most helpful in explaining the meaning of a text. In the case of an edition of Cicero's orations Bayle praises the plan of placing at the head of each an account of the circumstances under which the oration was delivered, the time, the place, the cause, the judgment given, and an outline of the oration, with the reasoning, the proofs and the various figures of speech pointed out. (2) Details of this kind about the circumstances under which a text was

1. O. D. I. 54, vii.

2. O. D. I. 169, vii.

written, ⁽¹⁾ explanations of the meaning of the text, ⁽²⁾ citations from other authors whose remarks have some relation to the text ---- this kind of information is worth having. ⁽³⁾ The dedications and prefaces which accompany various editions should be given. ⁽⁴⁾

But Bayle objects to the useless digressions which sometimes overwhelm editor and reader alike. ⁽⁵⁾ Whatever is his zeal and enthusiasm for fine details, he does not forget to be practical, and he insists that a text must be prepared with a view to the public for whom it is destined. Extreme niceties of erudition have their place, but not in a commentary prepared for the general reader or for the education of youth. To the average reader a multitude of minutiae concerning text variants have little value; he skips them. ⁽⁶⁾ Historical and

1. Cf. O. D. I. 155, xiv.

2. Cf. O. D. I. 634.

3. Cf. O. D. I. 175, x, 481, xi; D. IV. 369, Camden, E.

4. D. I. 444, Alexander ab Alexandro, F; Cf. D. II. 72, Ancillon, D.

5. O. D. I. 169, vii.

6. O. D. I. 241, iii; Cf. O. D. I. 67, iv.

geographical notes and grammatical comments which bring out the force of the author's expressions are more useful to the general public. (1) In the case of editions which are being prepared for young people care should be taken to make clear the constructions used in the text, to explain the points which are simple to the savant but which puzzle the novice. Bayle advocates paraphrasing a Latin text so that the constructions and word order may not overwhelm a young student. (2)

1. O. D. I. 341 iv; O. D. I. 67, iv.

2. O. D. I. 142, iv.

It is quite possible to have too much cleverness and too much learning to be a good commentator. Scaliger is an example of this: à force d'avoir de l'esprit, il trouvoit dans les Auteurs qu'il commentoit, plus de finesse et plus de génie qu'ils n'en avoient effectivement; et sa profonde littérature étoit cause qu'il voyoit mille rapports entre les pensées d'un Auteur, et quelque point rare d'antiquité. . . . les Commentaires qui viennent de lui, sont plein de conjectures hardies, ingénieuses et fort savantes; mais il n'est gueres apparent que les Auteurs aient songé à tout ce qu'il leur fait dire. O. D. I. 67, iv; Cf. O. D. II, 527; D. II. 64, Archise, E: Si les anciens écrivains revenaient au monde, ils seraient bien étonnés de voir dans leurs livres tant de choses auxquelles ils ne songerent jamais; Cf. O. D. I. 143, v: On the other hand the commentator does not always give his author the credit that is due for the excellence of some thought.

Translation calls for the same attention to accuracy. A translator must try to be absolutely correct, and must produce a faithful and clear reproduction of the original text. (1) He should, himself, add nothing. Any personal comments must be placed elsewhere. (2) Our author has no sympathy for a translator whose religious zeal moves him to change the text where it reflects discredit on his particular faith. (3) He approves highly of a translator of poetry who is able to be scrupulously accurate and yet produce a work pleasing and free from the dryness that usually characterizes a literal version. (4) Here, and in various cases, Bayle is impressed with the difficulties involved. (5)

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1. D. II. 31, Anaxagoras, C; D. II. 445, Arsinoë (2), 3; D. IX. 154, Léon X. K; O. D. III. 517. Cf. D. XII. 332. Priole, G; O. D. IV. 177: Bayle criticises particular translations for inaccuracy.
 2. D. III. 451, Bion, H.
 3. D. IX. 574, Luther, B B. Bayle criticises a Protestant.
 4. O. D. I. 170. viii. Cf. O. D. I. 633; Cf. O. D. I. 375: Approval of a translation of works of Demosthenes, Plato and Cicero where dryness is avoided.
 5. Cf. O. D. I. 101, II: Especially: Il ne suffit pas de savoir les langues pour bien traduire, il faut aussi savoir les choses: . . cf. D. XIV. 269. Tullie, I: il est extrêmement difficile de bien traduire; car quoiqu'on prenne les expressions de l'original dans le sens le plus vraisemblable, on ne laisse pas quelque fois de s'égarer: la connaissance de certains faits particuliers est nécessaire pour choisir le sens véritable. Cf. D. XII. 528, 9, Ryer (2), A. B.

Indeed exact scholarship in any of these fields is as difficult as it is desirable, the most learned writers like Scaliger, Vossius and Saumaise make slips. (1) Often the mistakes of clever men are enough to discourage a scholar. (2)

Bayle makes several remarks as to the reasons which make research work so complicated and uncertain. Many mistakes come from studying the past without sufficient documentary evidence. A modern instance brings out strikingly the complications liable to arise in parallel

1. D. II. 33, Anaxagoras, D; D. II. 264, Archélaüs (3), F; Cf. D. II. 95, Andrinople, B; D. II. 132 Antoine, B; D. V. 453, Demetrius Magnès, A; D. XV. 226. Dissert. cont.le Projet.

The mistakes of great scholars offer some consolation to lesser lights. D. XV. 327, Dissert. cont.le Projet. II. Indeed great scholars are especially liable to error. D. XV. 227, Dissert cont le Projet, II; D. III. 212, Bautru, B. Among other reasons for this Bayle suggests that the very bigness of these superior geniuses makes them ignore details. He cites Longinus and others on the subject: O. D. II. 170, 1.

2. D. IX. 541, Lupercales, C.

On the mistakes of savants cf. D. XV. 131, Dissert. sur le Livre de J. B, VII. Les savans sont d'étranges gens; ils courent après les choses éloignées et qui les fuient, et laissent ce qu'ils ont comme sous la main. Cf. D. III. 399, Bèze, F: Bayle says of the complaints of those who object to the corrections made in successive editions of the New Testament of Bèze: se fâcher de cela, c'est se fâcher contre la nature, qui a voulu que nos lumières fussent très-bornées, et qu'elles s'augmentassent peu à peu.

cases. In speaking of a book which claimed to give the true story of the loves of Gregory VII, Richelieu and others, Bayle suggests what might happen if between the eighteenth and twenty-eighth centuries a recurrence of the Dark Ages should be followed by another renaissance of letters. ⁽¹⁾ Perhaps this book, which is full of lies, would be preserved, while a thousand useful ones disappeared. It would be discovered and made to pass for reliable evidence of the amours of these gentlemen. On a été le dupe plus d'une fois de pareils ouvrages: on le sera apparemment dans les siècles à venir. Patience. ⁽¹⁾

In another case Bayle suggests what might occur if French should meet the fate of Latin; and if French literature should go through a period of obscurity as the Latin did in the Dark Ages. ⁽²⁾ Suppose that among the works preserved should be the writings of Boileau and the expres-

1. D. VII. 254, Grégoire, VII. T. Cf. D. II. 497, Athénée: ⁽²⁾
C'est ainsi qu'il y a tel compilateur, dont notre siècle ne fait nul cas, qui serait admiré d'ici à mille ans, s'il arrivait dans la république des lettres les mêmes révolutions qui ont fait périr la plupart des livres des anciens auteurs grecs et romains:
 i. e. supposing this compiler's work were preserved from the general destruction of books. Therefore, do not despise compilers, says Bayle.

2. D. I. 69, Abelly, A. Cf. D. V. 521, Dinant, A: on a third case where such mistakes might arise.

sion in the Lutrin ⁽¹⁾ le moelleux Abelly where the epithet refers to a book Medulla Theologica written by Abelly. Suppose this latter book were destroyed and its existence forgotten. What chimerical, extravagant comments the critics would hazard as to the meaning of the adjective in this application! Doubtless some one would see in moelleux Abelly an allusion to the fact that Abel offered up to the Lord the fat of the firstlings of his flock. ⁽²⁾ Evidently the lack of documents is liable to be the source of innumerable errors in scholarly work. Another cause of mistakes is poor memory. Memory is most important in the Republic of Letters, ⁽³⁾ but it behooves savants to be careful how they rely on it. ⁽⁴⁾

The difficulties of scholarship are particularly evident in the contentions which come up among savants. None are harder to settle. ⁽⁵⁾ Not only the first arguments of

1. Lutrin, Chant IV.

2. Cf. Genesis, IV, 4.

3. D. VII. 210, Gratarolus, B. The most agreeable feature of erudition, says Bayle, in one place, O. D. I. 300, is to be able to remember things. But the pleasure is fleeting; a man's memory weakens as he grows older. On the tremendous memory of Montmaur and the advantage it gave him in conversation, cf. D. X. 506, Montmaur, G.

4. D. XIV. 485, Urgulanilla, A; cf. D. I. 444, Alexander ab Alexandro, E.

5. D. XV. 228, Dissert. cont. le Projet III: cf. O. D. I. 110, v.

each side must be studied, but the successive answers which accumulate as one man replies to the other. In the rebuttals it is likely enough that a disputant will condemn what is good and fail to censure what is bad, so that new errors are added to those already existing. Sometimes it is possible for a critic to discover, at the very beginning, the essential errors in such a dispute, sometimes the truth escapes him altogether. The matter may be compared to hunting: à la vérité ceux qui cherchent les fautes des auteurs trouvent bien quelquefois la bête toute tuée ou aux abois, mais . . . ils la trouvent aussi quelquefois qui donne le change, ou qui esquivé le coup, ou même qui se défend encore vigoureusement quoique percée de cent traits. Les chicanes que la vanité et la mauvaise honte inspirent aux écrivains critiqués, ne rendent que trop juste l'application de la métaphore. Cependant cela nous montre qu'il ne suffit pas de savoir copier, pour aller heureusement à cette chasse, et que l'abondance des matériaux n'empêche pas que la construction de l'édifice ne coûte beaucoup. (1)

1. D. XV. 229, Dissert. cont. le Projet, III. Bayle goes on, in the following section, 229-30, IV, to explain the great usefulness of a work like his Dictionary, where these disputes are carefully studied and a judgment rendered for the benefit of the reader.

Although such stress is laid on the need of exactness and completeness in all scholarly efforts and although Bayle urges so vigorously that the difficulties in the way be overcome, it must be added that he does not think this kind of accuracy, by itself, enough to constitute an eminent scholar. He recognizes two kinds of savant. There are some fitted by their memory, their patience and their industry to accumulate vast compilations of fact. (1) This type of eruditus, whose work is distinguished more than anything else by its accuracy, has indeed a place. But there is a higher order of scholarship represented by men of superior critical faculties who can grasp the fundamental principles of things and who are capable of exploring new fields. (2) Bayle refers to the ancient scholiasts as being commendable only for the material found in their commentaries. (3) The German men of science

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1. Cf. D. XV. 223, Dissert.cont. le Projet; D. XV. 375, Préf. de M. Bayle.
 2. D. I. 453, Allatius; D. X. 215, Marca, N; D. XII. 495, Réinésius. Cf. O. D. IV, 131; cf. O. D. I. 189, ix: Bayle commends a chemist who seeks the principles of chemical phenomena rather than devoting himself to long series of experiments without reference to causes.
 3. O. D. I. 505.

are praiseworthy both for their industry and their genius. (1)

Aside from this varied treatment of the question of accuracy and completeness, there is one other feature of scholarship on which Bayle dwells especially. This is the matter of the relations of savants among themselves. How shall they treat each other in the disputes which are bound to arise concerning various points of erudition? In point of fact, they treat each other rather shamefully. Wrangling is very common among men of learning. Their lives and their writings give evidence of innumerable quarrels, characterized by spite, jealousy, calumny and other evil passions. (2) It is rare for them to engage in a dispute without maltreating each other. They may be gentlemanly at the start, but, in any case, they soon change, they let loose their malice, and attack each other

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1. O. D. I. 389, iv; cf. D. II. 414, Arnauld. (4), O: Bayle speaks of the activity of the savants of Leipsic, and says the city may be named the Athens of Germany.
 2. D. XII. 497. Réinésius; cf: Il semble que les gens de lettres sont ceux qui conspirent davantage contre leur propre repos et contre celui de leur prochain; cf. D. III. 481, Blondel (2), D: on quarrelsome professors; cf. D. XV. 226, Dissert. cont. le Projet; cf. O. D. II. 320. xx.

with more and more bitterness as the dispute proceeds. (1)
 there may be various reasons for this violence which is
 so characteristic. N'est ce pas que le tempérament qui
fait les grands hommes est semblable à ces terres fortes,
qui produisent de bonnes et de riches herbes abondan-
ment? Ou bien n'est ce pas que la bile la plus verte,
forme la vivacité de l'esprit, et que les veilles et les
méditations, par lesquelles on devient grand homme, échauf-
font extrêmement les humeurs? Ou enfin n'est ce pas que
les grands hommes connoissent parfaitement ce qu'ils va-
lent, s'imaginent que les moindres injures qu'on leur fait
sont des crimes qu'il faut châtier exemplairement, afin
d'apprendre au Public à honorer le véritable mérite? (2)
 Besides these possible reasons it is certainly true, Bayle
 adds, that those who lavish praise on savants increase
 their self admiration and incline them to resent contra-
 diction all the more vigorously. (2)

1. O. D. I. 266-7.

2. O. D. II. 187, 3. On the vanity of men of learning which
 Bayle deplures, cf. D. V. 196, Cimon, D; O. D. I.
 304, ii, 327; O. D. III. 651-2.

It is a pity that men of letters cannot rid themselves of this vice. (1) The results are deplorable. The world becomes disgusted with learning. It is reasonable to expect that much reading and erudition will give a man balance, will tend to free him from the faults and prejudices which induce a quarrelsome spirit. But experience shows that no such desirable effect is obtained. (2) Moreover the anxiety to find mistakes in the work of an adversary is a dangerous guide; it engenders other mistakes. (3) And the dispute of savants make the general public doubt whether accurate knowledge is to be obtained. (4)

Yet these disputes have a very definite advantage, provided they are not carried on in a spiteful fashion. Bayle believes, for his part, that the discussions and differences of learned men do add to the general sum

1. D. VII. 79. Gifanius, E; D. III. 157, Basine, F; cf. section XI, page 233, note 3, of the present study, the reference to Scaliger's violence.
2. D. XII. 497-8, Féinésius, B. Bayle adds that there is nothing more difficult to obtain than a well-balanced mind.
3. D. I. 536, Amphiaraus, B.
4. C. D. I. 223.

of knowledge. (1) A careful examination of facts as they are brought out in a dispute, leads to the discovery of mistakes, and that is worth while. (2) But of course it is essential that these disputes be conducted in a gentlemanly spirit. Bayle has words of praise for savants when they enter into their discussions without malice. (3)

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1. Cf. O. D. I. L. 38, xxi: Bayle refers to the benefit of intercourse among men of letters; O. D. I. L. 37; O. D. I. L. 74: A spirit of contradiction is to be recommended in schools and helps train thinkers, but in other places, it is not good taste; D. II. 577, Auréolus, B; Gigas, 9.
 2. O. D. I. 190, x. Apropos of a botanical discussion. Cf. O. D. I. 299.
 3. O. D. I. 19, 71, vi, 302, 507, ii; cf. D. II. 264-5, Archélaus (3), F; D. III. 157, Basine, F; D. XI. 553, Peréira, D; D. XIII. 548, Suétone (2), A; O. D. I. 185, iv; O. D. I. 438, 9; D. XV. 233-5, Dissert. cont. le Projet VI. Bayle explains the moderation which shall characterize his criticisms in the Dictionary; D. XV. 243-4, Dissert. cont. le Projet, IX: Bayle states that he will criticise all authors with equal freedom and moderation, regardless of their nationality or religion; Gigas 88-9.

Bayle states that the violence of authors is more excusable when they write in Latin than when they write in French. He suggests several reasons for the fact. Those who write in Latin are as a rule men shut up in their studies and not polished by contact with the world nor by reading the modern languages. They catch the spirit of Latin literature which is so abundant in invectives. Furthermore an opprobrious epithet in Latin does not bring up the same vivid associations that the equivalent in the living language would arouse. O. D. II. 201-2, xii, xiii.

To be a scholar and a gentleman is, then, in Bayle's opinion, a noble ambition. Scholarship does not bring very practical results, but it is inspiring to be a seeker of Truth for Truth's sake, and man's inclinations in that direction are to be encouraged. The individual who sets out on such a career, who seeks to make himself a savant, has no easy task. But if he is successful, he will find himself a member of a dignified and valuable profession.

VIII.

PANEGYRICS, LIBELS, LETTERS, ETC.

There is a certain amount of comment in Bayle's writings on various literary types which can hardly be placed in any one of the generally accepted genres. Such are his remarks on the composition of panegyrics, on libels and satires, on the letters of prominent men, and so on. He does not pay much attention to such subjects, but occasionally says something worth noting.

As to panegyric-writing, Bayle is particularly impressed with its difficulty. A panegyrist must avoid the extremes that would stamp him a flatterer and at the same time his praise must not be so stinted as to irritate the subject of the eulogy. Furthermore, since panegyrics have been lavished on all sides so freely and with so little discernment it is hard to persuade the public that one is composing a sincere encomium of a deserving man. And it is almost impossible to avoid manners of praising which have already been used in the case of men of no

merit.⁽¹⁾ Yet these difficulties should not dismay those who are ambitious to pay tribute to the worth of honorable gentlemen, and indeed there are plenty who show a readiness to attack the obstacles.⁽²⁾

Of the details of composition only a few are mentioned. It is to be deplored that faiseurs d'éloges are in the habit of bestowing their praise with such lavishness.⁽³⁾ A certain license may indeed be granted them and they may indulge in more laudation and flourish than a historian, but positive

1. O. D. I. 43, xvi. Bayle is speaking of a particular panegyric in honor of Monseigneur l'Electeur de Brandebourg. He goes on to say, apropos of this work: Joignons à ces difficultéz, celles que l'Auteur a remarquées dès le commencement; sçavoir que la louange peut n'égalér pas la vertu, ou choquer les autres hommes naturellement envieux "des éloges qui ne s'adressent point à eux, et de la vertu héroïque qu'ils ne scauroient imiter" ou enfin blesser la modestie de celui qu'on louè.
2. O. D. I. 43, xvi.
3. D. III. 112, Barclai (2), O; D. III. 289, Belleforest, D; D. III. 513 Bodin, F; D. VIII. 98, Herlicius, G; D. VIII. 491, Junius (2), P; D. X. 141, Mainus, E; D. X. 530, Morin, E; D. XI. 640, Perrot (2), B; D. XII. 4 Phaséles, A; O. D. I. 503. xii; O. D. III. 64, xcvi; Gigas, 66-67.

falsehood cannot be allowed.⁽¹⁾ The custom of leaving out dates which concern the events of the hero's life is objectionable, and the only reason for this lack of chronological accuracy is indolence.⁽²⁾ Another common fault of panegyrists is to compose harangues in no way individual, which may be applied equally well to a thousand different people. The Abbé de la Chambre is praised for having avoided this defect in the discourse pronounced at the reception of La Fontaine into the Academy. The abbé's remarks are well adapted to the circumstances under which they are given, and to the personality of the subject.⁽³⁾

1. D. III. 200, Baudouin, E; cf. D. X. 496. Montgaillard, D.

2. D. IV. 311, Calderinus⁽²⁾, D.; cf. D. II. 310, Argyropyle, A; D. IV. 613, Caussin, G; D. XI. 444-5, Patin; O. D. I. 92. v.

3. O. D. I. 197. i. In speaking of this defect in éloges Bayle says: Il semble qu'ils aient été préparés de longue - main sans qu'on scût quelle seroit leur destinée, et qu'on ait seulement eu la précaution d'y laisser quelques lignes en blanc pour les remplir quand le temps de les employer seroit venu, à peu près comme l'on en use dans les Billets imprimez qui se prennent dans les Bureaux.

Bayle points out how panegyrists help

Bayle commends several éloges for the subtlety displayed. (1)

Epîtres Dédicatoires are not, in their general characteristics, far removed from panegyrics. Writers of these dedications cram them with flattery. The practice is lamentable but of such long standing that it cannot now be cured. (2) In this kind of composition, as in panegyrics, it is hard to produce a satisfactory piece, wherein the praise is accorded

increase certain superstitions by the way they make use of unusual phenomena of nature in praising their heroes. It was claimed, for example, that the appearance of a comet after Caesar's death indicated his reception among the gods. Bayle refers to Balzac, Virgil, Horace and Ovid among the panegyrists who have practised this. The remarks made in such cases naturally strengthened the popular belief that comets had a significance as miracles. O. D. III. 53-4, lxxxii-lxxxiii.

For other remarks on panegyrics, cf. D. IV. 277; Busiris, C; O. D. III. 525-8, xvii; O. D. IV. 535: No people are more clever at louanges than the French.

1. D. III. 323, Benserade, M; O. D. I. 20, iii; O. D. I, 524, viii.
2. Cf. O. D. IV. 588.

with the desired subtlety.⁽¹⁾ If a man is willing to swallow any kind of stuff, it is easy to write a dedication to him -- and indeed the objects of such remarks do not prove hard to please; they accept all flattery with readiness. But if a writer wants to show himself clever he must be subtle in the praise giving, and it seems as if every method had been exhausted. It is common for a writer to dedicate his work to some one whose prestige he thinks will save the book from attack. But critics are not such respecters of persons,⁽²⁾ and these hopes are ill-founded.

Various remarks by Bayle, and particularly his Dissertation sur les Libelles Diffamatoires,⁽³⁾ indicate that he has no sympathy with satirical writ-

1. O. D. I. 374, viii. Apropos of an Epître Dédicatoire by La Fontaine, which is excellent, according to Bayle.
2. D. II. 124, Antésignan, C.
Of a man who dedicated his work to God, Bayle says: Cette Epître Dédicatoire est d'un tour fort singulier, et a un avantage fort rare, c'est qu'elle peut pousser l'éloge à perte de vue, sans se rendre suspecte de flatterie. O. D. I. 413. iv.
3. D. XV. 148-89. Cf. O. D. II. 563-72. Bayle attacks the satirical writings of the Protestants.

ings of any kind. He deplores the malignity of such authors, who do not hesitate to attack the most upright. ⁽¹⁾ Satires sometimes have a grievous effect in the state, causing war and sedition. ⁽²⁾ It is nonsense to claim that satires and libels check vice, because they are a menace to evil-doers, for there is no lack of productions of this character, yet the world goes on in its wicked way. ⁽³⁾ Although he

1. D. XV. 154, Bayle speaks especially against those hypocrites who combine a spirit of violent satire with the appearance of austerity and virtue.

2. D. XV. 172-3. Sometimes the political influence of such satires is considerable, sometimes it is nil; it depends on circumstances.

3. D. XV. 155, vii.

For various remarks against satirical writers, cf. D. XV. 174-6, xvii, and D. II, 117, Annat, A, and D. II. 119. Annat, E; D. VII. 185, Gournai; D. VII. 378-9, Guise ⁽³⁾; D. X. 282, 285, Marie ⁽²⁾, C, D; D. XIII. 174, Schomberg ⁽⁵⁾, A; D. XIII. 214, 5, Scultet, D; O. D. I. 677, vi. Gigas, 68-72, especially: les satyriques sont des véritables boute-feux et des perturbateurs du repos public; en effet ils allument la guerre dans tous les coins du Parnasse et donnent naissance à cent libelles diffamatoires (68-9.) A satirist is liable to become the victim of raillery himself, says Bayle, here.

Cf. D. I. 394, Albiat ⁽³⁾, A: Quand on a les rieurs contre soi, il faut avoir droit et demi, et accumuler preuve sur preuve, si l'on veut gagner sa cause; cf. D. III. 448, Bion ⁽²⁾, C.

does not esteem such pieces, Bayle has a few comments to make as to how they should be composed. One of the fundamental laws is never to base a raillery on facts which are manifestly false; in such a case it is easy to turn the tables on the railer.⁽¹⁾ Where the satire is forced, where a man is ridiculed for something in which he is not different from other men, the result can only be a miserable failure.⁽²⁾ At the same time it is undeniable that the exigencies of satire writing demand a certain amount of juggling with the truth. Il semble que les règles.....

1. Cf. D. II. 118, Annat, B; D. III. 528, Boleyn; D. V. 243, Colomiés, C; D. VII. 242, Grégoire VII.P; D. VII. 554, Héliodore, C; D. III. 181, Baudius, H.

Apropos of satires as used by controversialists, Bayle lays down several rules: l'une est de n'avancer rien dont on ne puisse donner des preuves, et surtout de s'abstenir des accusations qui peuvent être facilement réfutées; l'autre est de ne point s'opiniâtrer à soutenir un fait réfuté. J'oubliais un troisième avis: c'est qu'il faut cacher soigneusement sa passion, et fuir les apparences d'emportement. D. III. 270, Bellarmin, E.

2. D. V. 243, Colomiés, C. Cf. D. X. 281, Marie⁽²⁾, B: satirists should not indulge in sophisms.

imposent la nécessité de changer les circonstances qui
ne feraient pas assez rire, ou qui ne seraient pas
assez désavantageuses aux gens, et d'en substituer de
plus ridicules, ou de plus désobligeantes.⁽¹⁾ In regard
to satires proper, that is, satires as a form of poetry,
Bayle speaks of the fact that the excellence of such
often lies in the delicacy, the subtlety, of the
thrust. Le sel même de la satire demande qu'on ne
s'explique pas toujours clairement. Les allusions un
peu cachées y ont une grâce merveilleuse pour les gens
d'esprit. C'est ce qui a été observé fort adroitement
par M. Des-Preaux en quelques rencontres.⁽²⁾ A
clever satirist always maintains his own gravity and
coldness; by taking this attitude, he produces a
much greater effect on his audience.⁽³⁾

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1. D. IV. 160, Brossier, B. Cf. D. XV. 161-2, Dissert.
cont. les Libelles Diff. XI.
 2. O. D. I. 143, v. On this account commentaries are
very necessary for satires.
Cf. D. VI. 394, Fannius Quadratus, A.
 3. O. D. III. 615, lxii.

Letters interest Bayle, he states that he takes great pleasure in reading those of important men. ⁽¹⁾ They often have a value on account of the special information they contain. ⁽²⁾ Apropos of the letters of Casaubon and Scaliger, Bayle states, however, that some of this kind of correspondence is not worth perusal. ⁽³⁾ He is not enthusiastic about those zealous followers of the great who see fit to publish the most insignificant and carelessly constructed epistles of their heroes. ⁽⁴⁾ He suggests also, that men may not be very honest in the statements made in their letters, ⁽⁵⁾ particularly when they write to an author about his books. ⁽⁶⁾ He

1. O. D. IV. 686.

2. O. D. I. 641.

3. O. D. I. L. 15.

4. O. D. I. 149, viii. Apropos of Cicero's Letters.

5. O. D. I. 734; D. VII. 530-3; *Prolixus*, V.

Bayle objects to publishing letters written in confidence and using them against the writer.
D. IX. 268, Lipse, E.

comments on the tyranny to which those are submitted who are considered clever epistolists. Since they have a reputation to sustain they are never able to write in a free, careless way.⁽¹⁾

A few observations on various other things more or less literary in character may be mentioned in passing. Bayle speaks of books of travel to remark on their unreliability.⁽²⁾ He suggests that Mandeville is not a particularly good authority.⁽³⁾ He refers to bons mots several times. The passion of making bons mots is so great that a man disregards all considerations of religion, friendship and personal fortune if he sees an opportunity for exercising his cleverness.⁽⁴⁾ Such witticisms are frequently artificial in origin, coined deliberately

1. D. XII. 213, Politien, Q.

2. O. D. I. 144, vi.

3. D. I. 92, Abraham, G. Of the Voyage of Chapelle and Bachaumont Bayle says: Il y a très peu d'ouvrages d'esprit qu'on ait autant lu et admiré que la relation du Voyage de ces deux messieurs D. V. 392, Bassouci, D.

4. D. V. 534, Diogène, N; D. X. 284, Marie⁽²⁾, D; D. IV. 583, Catius, C.

and then applied to a fitting situation.⁽¹⁾ Most of them have a false side if examined carefully; they are more brilliant than solid.⁽²⁾ Anagrams and such plays on words are the most puerile feature of the bel art of poetry.⁽³⁾ The habit of making pointes is mentioned as the mauvaise coutume du vieux temps.⁽⁴⁾ Proverbs naturally suffer many exceptions; they are des maximes populaires à qui par conséquent l'exactitude ne siéroit pas bien.⁽⁵⁾ Apothegms, however, may be most useful and forceful.⁽⁶⁾

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1. D. XII, 314, 5, Prétextat, B.
 2. D. III. 448, Bion⁽²⁾, C; D. XIII. 234 Sengebère, B.
 3. D. X. 501, Montmaur.
 4. O. D. III. 28, xxxvi; cf. O. D. II. 174, iv; D. IV. 520 Cassius Séverus, K; D. XII. 569, Ronsard, C.
 5. O. D. I. 740, i. Cf. D. IV. 499. Cassius Longinus.
 6. D. XV. 240. Dissert. cont. le Projet, IX.

IX.

STYLE.

Style does not impress the editor of the Nouvelles as a matter deserving special stress. He has a few precepts to advocate, and insists with some energy on the need of attention to clearness and to correctness. Style for style's sake, however, means nothing to him. Apropos of his own writings he testifies to the efforts he makes to avoid negligence in certain details of composition, ⁽¹⁾ but he owns that he is inclined to pay more attention to the reasoning than to the expression: j'avoué ingenuément que j'ai toujours, eu plus de soin de devenir capable de bien raisonner, que d'apprendre à bien parler. . ⁽²⁾ He suggests several times that there are cases where the excellence of the material found in a book may excuse the poor form in which it is

1. D. XVI. 6, Préf. de la 1^e Ed.

2. O. D. II. 5. Cf. Gigas, 78: je connois que mon stile, et ma composition sont tout à fait irrégulières. Cf. section IV. p. 36, note 1, of the present study, reference to the letter published by Gigas, pp. 74-85.

presented. (1)

Since he has such a point of view it is not to be expected that Bayle will sympathize with those who go to extremes in polishing and correcting their compositions. A reasonable amount of care may be praiseworthy, he says, but there is a limit to the efforts a writer should make; he must not be too particular and strive and strain for a long time over the writing of a few pages. Les excès qui se commettent en cela sont très-blâmables, et un joug qui réduit quelquefois la plume à une espèce de stérilité. (2)

1. O. D. I. 91; O. D. I. 361, xi; cf. D. VII. 91, 2, Glaphyra. (2), C.

It might be supposed from certain remarks of Bayle that he would not think it worth while to strive for a style that is individual and distinctive, for he speaks several times as if he were not inclined to admit the existence of such a thing. One cannot deduce from characteristics of style the identity of an author, for different writers compose in the same way, and the same writer often changes his style. Cf. D. IX. 142, Léon I^{er}, F. O. D. II. 643, 4; O. D. II. 688, 9. Moreover a young writer is apt to mold his style according to the books he reads. O. D. IV. 758. But these remarks are made in connection with arguments de circonstance and have slight value.

2. D. X. 178, Malherbe, G.

Cf. D. I. 394, Alciat, A: Qu'il y a des gens qui, à force de travailler, à être de bons auteurs, demeurent toujours privés de la qualité d'auteur. The emphasis is not on style in this case; the remark is made apropos of a controversial writing.

If authors of little or no ability should observe the maxim that a writing is to be kept in one's cabinet for nine years, they would do well, but such a precept in the case of a clever man is undesirable. The public is liable to be deprived of books which, if written more easily and with less perfection, would still be excellent, when penned by the hand of a great author. And the author harms himself. He may polish and repolish and labor to attain a form that is impeccable until he becomes tired and disgusted. Then he throws aside the work, and robs himself of the glory he might have had in publishing a book, not perhaps above reproach, but certainly of value. Moreover it is possible to reach a point where further efforts, instead of tending towards perfection, take from the vigor and richness of style. ⁽¹⁾ It is also true that

1. D. IX. 251-4, Linacer, F.

Bayle quotes Pliny the Younger, Quintilian and others in this connection. He states that there are many cases where writers experience more difficulties with their style, make more changes and erasures, at the beginning of the composition than anywhere else. An author is apt to take particular pains to correct a new edition of his work, but that is often peine perdue, for few people compare editions or recognize the importance of such corrections. (Continued next page)

an author's style may bear too clear evidence of the fact that writing is hard work for him. (1)

clearness is the stylistic feature dwelt upon with the most insistence. A writer must be careful about the general plan of his composition; the various parts must be carefully distinguished, and yet must follow each other smoothly, in a natural and logical sequence. (2) To secure this unity of effect and to avoid confusion is particularly difficult in the case of an abridgment. (3) No work

Cf. D. VII. 307-11, Guarini (2), G: Remarks on the practice of spending too much time on a composition. In this note Bayle speaks of the fact that certain authors who seem to write with extreme facility have only secured that effect by painstaking effort, and he also mentions those writers who are pleased that their style should be complex and bear evidence of hard work. Cf. D. XIII. 278. Silanion, A: on spending too much time on a composition.

1. Cf. D. III. 67, Balzac (2); D. VII. 308, Guarini (2) G.
2. Cf. D. XII. 27, Philistus, D; O. D. I. L. 136, speaking of narration.
3. D. I. Achille, 147, C; D. II. 463. Artaxata, A; D. II. 470, Artémidore, H; D. V. 288, Conon (2), I; D. VI. 45, Drusus (2), F; D. VII. 316, Guébriant, F; O. D. IV. 195. Cf. D. II. 446, Arsinoé (2), C: Quoi qu'il en soit, ni Justin, ni plusieurs autres abrégiateurs, ne savent pas qu'un abrégé doit ressembler aux pygmées qui ont toutes les parties du corps humain, mais chacune à proportion plus petite que celles d'un homme de belle taille.

perhaps calls for more good taste and discernment than the presenting, in small compass, of the essential details of a large book. It is also hard to make additions to a composition and to be sure that no statements in the main part of the work fail to harmonize with what follows. (1) Yet such difficulties must be overcome.

When the general plan has been determined, the details of phraseology demand attention. Extreme care is to be exercised in the arrangement of relatives and their antecedents, in placing possessive pronouns and the like so as to avoid all confusion in meaning. (2) Bayle indicates his approval when a writer produces a composition that is clean-cut and free from obscurity; he is irritated when a piece is marked by confusion and indistinct-

1. D. X. 165, Maldonat, I; D. XVI. 20, Avert. sur la 2^e Ed. (of additions to a dictionary); O. D. III. 7-8, Bayle confesses that to incorporate additions into the text of a work instead of at the end, and leave the harmony of the whole composition undisturbed is too difficult for him.

2. O. D. IV. 723.

ness. (1) He frequently censures turns of expression which cause ambiguity, (2) though admitting the extreme difficulty of writing in such a way as to make the meaning absolutely definite. It is almost impossible for an author to express himself so clearly that future generations will never interpret his words in different senses. Si l'on prévoyait les controverses qui s'élèveront dans trois ou quatre cents ans, on s'exprimerait d'une manière plus précise; mais je ne sais si les langues fourniraient autant de termes qu'il en faudrait pour ôter les équivoques, et pour obvier aux chicanes. (3)

There is no language affording more opportunity than French for clean-cut accurate expression. The clearness of French is characteristic. In a letter to M. Rou, our author writes: Vous savez mieux que moi, que le ca-

1. D. I. 429, Aléandre (2), B; D. III. 307, Bême, B; D. IV. 216, Buchanan, A. (Cf. sub note (2)); O. D. I. 273, iii; O. D. I. 284, iii; O. D. I. 308, v; O. D. I. 429, ii; O. D. III. 615, lxiii.
2. D. VI. 52, Drusus (3), F; D. VI. 171, Epicure, C; D. VI. 388, Fannius, A; D. VII. 130, Gontaut, (2), A; D. X. 398, Memnon, E; D. XI. 20, Naples (2), B; O. D. III. 549, note f.
3. D. V. 380, Dante, I. Apropos of an interpretation of Dante's opinions in regard to the papacy.
(Continued next page.)

ractere de notre Langue, et ce qui la distingue de toutes les autres, est une manière nette, coulante, débarrassée, de ranger les mots, qui fait qu'un Lecteur ne balance point à quoi il doit rapporter les Particules "qui," "le," "son," "que," etc. Dans les autres Langues, on se détermine par la nature des sujets; dans la nôtre, on épargne au Lecteur cette recherche: la seule situation des mots, où l'on évite deux antécédens susceptibles de la même relation, fait juger de la pensée. (1) French is certainly superior to the ancient languages in this mat-

Bayle suggests that common sense must often come to the help of grammar, in questions of the meaning of an expression, D. XII. 493, Reihing, D.

He also suggests that a writer's style may be improved by a careful observance of the principles of logic, by avoiding confusion in the reasoning. In other words, think clearly and you may write clearly. D. V. 501, Diagoras (2), H; cf. D. VI. 24, Drusille, A.

Cf. O. D. I. 177, i: A knowledge of philosophy is valuable to a rhetorician, for there is a close relation between language and the workings of the mind.

For an example of Bayle's insistence upon absolute accuracy in expression, cf. O. D. IV. 722, 3.

1. O. D. IV. 723; cf. D. I. 146, Achille, C; O. D. IV. 190 -I, on the excellence of French and its widespread use in Europe; O. D. I. 174: la langue Francoise est aujourd'hui dans sa perfection. . .

ter, although here too it is easy to be lax and fall into ambiguity. ⁽¹⁾ Latin and Greek, particularly the former, abound in equivocal expressions, ⁽²⁾ and there is a similar lack of clearness in Italian. ⁽³⁾

Closely allied with the question of clearness is the matter of conciseness. A style that is extremely condensed may result in obscurity. Bayle suggests that there is a happy medium. ⁽⁴⁾ He censures the excesses of modern writers qui accusent de prolixité tout auteur qui ne donne pas à deviner le meilleur de ses pensées. ⁽⁵⁾

1. D. III. 24, Badius, K; D. IV. 131, Brezé ⁽²⁾, A; D. V. 443, Déjotarus, G; D. V. 452, Dellius, F; D. V. 552, Dolabella, G; D. VI. 273, Eséchiél, E; D. XIV. 103, Théon, B.
2. D. III. 107, Barclai ⁽²⁾, D; D. VII. 248, Grégoire VII, P; D. X. 320, Marot, L; O. D. I. 646.
3. D. XV. 76, Zenxis, L.
4. D. VIII. 275, Hotman, C: A good writer prides himself on being concise, but he may go too far. O. D. I. 629, iii.
5. D. X. 278, Marie, C. Cf. O. D. I. 121, ii. Cf. on the other hand: D. I. 313, Ajax, B: Quintus Calaber particularise les choses avec beaucoup plus d'étendue: il est si prolix, que ce seul endroit témoigne qu'il n'était pas un grand maître. On conciseness in style, as to its difficulty, as well as desirability, cf. O. D. I. 444, Avertissement. Bayle is speaking of his own writing.

It is more difficult to avoid obscurity in long sentences than in short ones, but it is a sign of laziness to use always le style coupé. Those who write long periods and link the parts together properly can really be more concise than those who write a series of short sentences. Bayle contrasts the conciseness of Cicero with the verbiage of Seneca. (1)

In regard to digressions there is again a golden mean. Undoubtedly a writer should not wander from his subject, yet it is quite possible to follow one particular line with so little variety that the reader becomes exceedingly bored. An occasional relaxation from gravity of style, the introduction from time to time of some detail which, though it does not bear directly on the question at issue, is interesting, helps to make the reader alert, and prevents him from feeling the fatigue caused by a book that is always correct, serious and concise . . . un peu de variété est nécessaire dans tous les ouvrages d'esprit et l'on remarque que les écrivains les plus réguliers ne sont pas ceux qui se font lire le plus agréablement. (2)

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1. O. D. IV. 723. The example is poorly chosen if Bayle wishes to bring out the difference between long and short periods, for he says: Cicéron mettroit dans une période de six lignes, ce que Sénèque dit dans six périodes qui tiennent chacune huit ou neuf lignes.
 2. D. XII. 27, Philistus, E.

The rigid observance of the law against digressions may produce a book which is superior as a work of art, but the reading public will not like it. Whether artistic ideals or the taste of the public should be followed Bayle leaves an open question. ⁽¹⁾ He admits on various occasions that his own writings abound in digressions and are long-winded. He apologizes for this, but advances the plea mentioned: digressions often add to the interest of a work and divert the reader. ⁽²⁾

Correctness is important. Accuracy in spelling is to be insisted upon. ⁽³⁾ Provincialisms in writing

1. D. XII. 27-8, Philistus, E, apropos of history; Cf. D. XIV. 108-10, Théopompe, E, F; O. D. I. L. 136: on digressions of the nouvellistes; O. D. III 1032, X: against the digressions of a particular history.

2. O. D. III. 4, 9, 10, 158-9. For Bayle's comment on the digressions and prolixity in his own letters cf. O. D. IV. 543, 545, 587, xliii, 596, xliv.

3. D. IV. 297, Cayet, N; O. D. I. L. 69, 83, liv.
Bayle writes to his younger brother, O. D. I. L. 38, xx: J'ai remarqué que vous innovez beaucoup dans l'ortographe. Vous ne mettez par exemple aucune r aux infinitifs. C'est une singularité qu'on pardonne aux femmes, mais les Savans ne s'en servent pas. Ils attendent que l'usage ait réglé peu à peu le retranchement des lettres superflues. Il est probablement que l'écriture s'approchera de la prononciation plus qu'elle n'a fait jusqu'ici; mais c'est une imagination mal fondée de croire qu'on puisse jamais écrire comme l'on prononce, et ceux qui en ont fait la tentative se sont fait siffler.

and in pronunciation must be avoided; (1) it is hard to do this, but on the other hand success in the effort may result in a style that is unusually pure. Have not Malherbe, Balzac and Vaugelas, who were from the Provinces, been particularly commendable as to their pure speech, for the very reason perhaps that they felt especially the need of care? (2) There is such a thing as too rigid adherence to the tyrannical precepts of grammar and indeed if one submitted to all the rules, it would be impossible to write French. Les nouveaux Grammairiens François nous donnent des regles qu'il est impossible de suivre, et ils mériteroient d'être regardez comme le fléau des Auteurs. Ils ont rendu la Langue Française celle de toutes les Langues, où il est le plus mal-aisé de bien écrire. (3) Yet (4) it is good to set a high ideal for oneself in this matter.

1. O. D. I. 275, viii, 305; O. D. I. L. 69, 83, liv, 117, 175.

2. O. D. I. 306.

3. O. D. II. 6. Cf. O. D. IV. 835; And the best grammarians make mistakes, says Bayle, apropos of a point in Latin: O. D. I. 299.

4. O. D. I. 296, viii.

Bayle occasionally criticises a particular expression as incorrect. Cf. D. V. 145, Chigi (2), note (28).
(Continued next page)

The ornaments of style are not by any means as important as these other details. Bayle advocates

O. D. I. L. 38, xx; Cet endroit "Prier qui a ou gouverné", est un barbarisme, on ne parle pas ainsi en bon françois; O. D. I. L. 96, Vous vous servez du Verbe "fester" en deux façons vicieuses, l'une en disant il resta ici deux mois, l'autre en disant je n'ai pas resté de faire ceci ou cela; etc.

The question of introducing obscenities in one's writings has some relation to the matter of pureness of style, and the defence which Bayle publishes against the attacks on those in his Dictionary includes one or two remarks on this theme. (a) He makes two general divisions among those writers who deal with obscenities; into one group he puts those whose work is historical in character and who have to touch upon the indecent from that point of view; and into a second group he puts all the others, those who treat such subjects in the rôle of poets, novelists and what not. In the case of the second group Bayle deplores the practice, but states that it has so long been a habit for various writers to dabble in these things, that there is a certain precedent for the indulgence. (b) The Dictionary, of course, belongs in the first group. In a work of this character it is enough to avoid expressions which shock common decency, (c) the daintiness which might be expected of a bel esprit is not called for here. (d) Bayle has no sympathy for the delicacy of the purists who are extreme in censuring this or that expression as sale. As a matter of fact they are inconsistent. The veiled expressions used by them are often more reprehensible than out and out grossièreté. And both kinds appeal to the imagination with equal vividness; there is no real difference. (f) Aside from any question of grammar or style it is certainly true that a compiler of facts which are historical in character has a right to treat of obscene things when they become a part of his subject. A multitude have established the precedent for this privilege. (g)

[a. D. XV. 324-71, Eclaircissement sur les Obscenités.]

[b. The saletés a writer may introduce into his work in no way reflect on his private character.]

simplicity, ⁽¹⁾ and objects to the brilliancy which often serves to cover up falsehood. ⁽²⁾ The rules of Rhetoric permit extravagances and exaggerations which are not tolerated elsewhere. ⁽³⁾ On the various rhetorical fig-

c. General usage determines whether expressions are to be tolerated or not.

d. D. XV. 333. Il y a . . . du haut et du bas dans la bien séance du style: les plus hauts degrés conviennent à un certain nombre d'écrivains, et non pas à tous.

e. Cf. D. XV. 345. Les farces d'aujourd'hui sont plus dangereuses que celles de nos ancêtres; car celles-ci étaient d'une obscénité si dévoilée, que les honnêtes femmes n'osaient point y assister. Présentement elles y assistent sous prétexte que les saletés y sont voilées, mais non pas sous des enveloppes impenétrables. Cf. O. D. III. 1060.

f. D. XV. 350; cf. D. III. 403, Pèze, H; cf. D. VIII. 145. Hipparchia, D.

g. Bayle insists especially on this right. Cf. D. I. 204, Adam, G; D. III. 483, Plondel (3), A; D. VIII. 144, Hipparchia, D; D. XII. 385-6, Quellenec, E; D. XIII. 272-4, Sforce (3), E; D. IX. 186, Lesbos, C. (Bayle adds here: Il faut s'assujettir quelquefois aux scrupules de la mode); O. D. I. I. 181, cxxxvii; O. D. IV. 747-8, quoted in D. XII. 385-6, Quellenec, E; O. D. IV. 754, xxxiii.

1. O. D. IV. 659; O. D. IV. 726: on simplicity of style in a history; cf. section VI. page 95 of the present study; cf. D. IV. 195, Brutus (3): a censure of the practice of using pompous titles.

2. IX. 425, Louis XI. V.

3. D. I. 207 Adam, N; D. II. 211, Apulée, G; D. III. 189, Paudius, P; D. IV. 489-90, Cassandre, F (cf. note 39, p. 490); D. V. 211, Cyrille, A.

ures there is little comment. Occasionally Bayle refers to the excellence of a simile or metaphor, (1) but he admits that toute comparaison cloche, (2) and he declares that a long drawn out metaphor is by no means his favorite figure. (3) Irony may be used to good advantage where it is undesirable to give a dispute the dignity of serious discussion. (4) But irony is frequently too bitter and

1. D. II. 177, Apion, C; D. II. 492, Athénagoras, E; D. V. 61, Chamier, G.
2. D. XIV. 171-4, Timée, I: Apropos of a comparison of Timraeus, censured by Longinus, Bayle suggests that it is enough for a comparison to be striking, it does not matter if the parallel is, in some particulars, inexact. D. III. 477, Blondel, O; D. VI. 510, Fontevraud, H; D. XI. 541, Pénélope, H; O. D. I. 657.
3. O. D. IV. 545.
4. O. D. I. 497-8.

malign to be pleasing. (1) In the matter of euphony, French presents a particular problem. To avoid inversions and transpositions, to arrange words in a natural manner as is done in French, results sometimes in rhymed prose. (2)

1. O. D. II. 6; cf. D. XVI. 7. Pref. de la 1^e Fd. note 19.

There are a few remarks on elegance in the Latin language in particular. It is no easy matter to have a good understanding of what is pure Latin; (a) years of study and careful thought are necessary. Much of the Latin written by modern authors is barbarous, -- though there are cases where writers have attained some degree of excellence. (b) Bayle is inclined to sneer at the affectation of a pure Ciceronian style when it involves applying pagan names to the details of Christian worship. (c) He also suggests in another case that the delicacy of purists is excessive. (d) The Latin of state documents does not have to be written with great care and study, but there should be a certain elegance and clearness. (e)

a. O. D. I. 124; cf. D. XIII. 197, Scioppius, K; O. D. I. 305; O. D. IV. 189.

b. O. D. I. L. 32, 47-8; O. D. I. 123, iv.

c. D. III. 298, Bemibus; D. III, 553, Bonfinus, E; D. IV. 529, Castalion, C.

d. O. D. I. 350.

e. O. D. IV. 639, xcv.

but this indeed is preferable to the obscurity that the inverted construction would cause. (1)

Concerning diction no rules are laid down. Bayle is impressed by the inadequacy of the stock of words from which a man has to choose. All languages are inadequate; a writer sometimes has to use the same word to express two ideas which are different and for which there should be separate names. Our author cites the case of bon and mauvais; he objects to the necessity of using these terms for physical as well as for moral qualities. A judge who is a rascal is called a bad judge; an artist who is unskillful is called a bad artist. There should be a new set of words for the physical qualities, and these adjectives should be used of moral qualities only. Man's indolence and the caprices of usage help explain this poverty of vocabulary. (2)

1. C. D. I. 122.

2. D. XII. 460, Rangouze, A.

Apropos of diction, cf. D. II. 560, Augustin, H: il n'y a point de conséquence à tirer d'un siècle à un autre, quant au sens des termes. L'usage le fait varier prodigeusement.

Cf. D. IV. 275, Busiris, B: Of the exact meaning of words, Bayle says: Le raisonnement sert de peu de chose dans tout cela, parce que la force des mots dépend toute de l'usage. Or, pour bien connaître l'usage, il faut ou vivre avec ceux qui se servent d'une langue, ou consulter des auteurs qui aient marqué nettement et précisément les idées qui répondaient à tels et tels mots.

Since language offers such an unsatisfactory means of expression, Bayle would naturally oppose any practice which tends even more to narrow the limits. The inclination to shun all archaic words comes in for censure on this score. It is a mistake for an author to try to eliminate from his vocabulary any terms that he may suspect of being antiquated. It is only young writers, or those who compose very slowly, or the people at large who know nothing about the difficulties of style, who advocate such a practice; men who are obliged to write a book of any length, or all under the necessity of writing rapidly, understand the need of having a language as rich as possible in the variety of its expressions. A plentiful supply of words helps to avoid repetitions, to secure clearness. Even the great authors, like La Bruyère, those who have the best command of their pens, protest against such a weakness of the language. (1) At the same time, a work crammed with

1. D. VII. 190, Gournai, H. Bayle cites La Bruyère (Caractères, De Quelques Usages, No. 73). Cf. D. I. 124 Accius, P.

The bad taste of those who cannot endure the style of the older writers is deplorable, says Bayle, in speaking of old French. The particular beauty or force of their productions is lost when contemporary editors retouch them and correct the old-fashioned words and turns of expression. Even the orthography should be maintained; exactness demands that. Readers should have enough energy to study the old language until they are familiar with it. D. XI. 275. Ossat; ditto, 276, E; cf. D. XI. 53, Navarre, N; cf. O. D. III. 1023, IV.

archaic expressions that are only to be found in special dictionaries is utterly spoiled. A man who indulges in this practice is merely making a show of his erudition. (1)

1. D. XII. 436-8, Raynaud, I.

Cf. ref. to D. I., Accius above p. 156, note 1. Here Bayle refers to the false taste of those Romans who carried their preference for archaic expressions too far. He also mentions certain Romans who praised the older poets far more than those of the time, lorsque le latin fut venu à sa perfection. From both their mistakes the XVII century is free. Apropos of the second one Bayle says: On se contente de mettre la Grèce et l'ancienne Rome au-dessus de notre siècle; mais on ne préfère pas les harangues et les poésies du XV^e et du XVI^e siècle à celles qu'on fait aujourd'hui.

X.

ANCIENTS AND MODERNS.

Our author is awake to the dispute, going on in his day, concerning the relative merits of the ancients and moderns in literature; and he ventures some observations on the subject, although he does not definitely take sides. He refers only rarely to the controversial writings which the ancient and the modern camps exchanged, but he is acquainted with some of them. He is familiar with Charpentier's Défense de la Langue Française pour l'Inscription de l'Arc de Triomphe.⁽¹⁾ and with his De l'excellence de la Langue Française.⁽²⁾ There is mention, but no important criticism, of the writings of Perrault and Boileau.⁽³⁾ There is also an allusion to Desmarets' censure of

1. O. D. I. 112.

2. Bayle reviews this book in the Nouvelles. The general tone of his article is favorable, but no final judgment is offered. O. D. I. 112; O. D. I. 121.

3. D. II. 169, Apelles, K; D. VII, 67, Duaren, F; D. XII. 13, Phèdre, D; O. D. IV, 851-2; cf. O. D. I. L. 38, xxi, a reference to Parnasse Reformé; O. D. IV. 730, clxxxvi. C'est une personne que j'honore d'une façon distinguée, of Charles Perrault.

the ancients. (1)

The comment which is to be found concerning the general characteristics of the Greek and Roman nations, aside from the question of literature, does not indicate that Bayle felt any sympathetic interest in these peoples. To be sure he praises their private and civic probity, and while he grants that they were not perfect and that certain of their vices are deplorable, he claims that even if they did not always practice true virtue they understood its significance and value.⁽²⁾ Their religious system, however, is absurd,⁽³⁾

1. Cf. below, page 162, note 2.

2. Cf. D. I. 543, Amphiaraus, H; D. II. 165, Apelles, E; D. IV. 186, Brutus⁽²⁾ ; D. IV. 188, Brutus⁽²⁾, A; D. V. 306, Cotys, E; D. VI. 382, Fabricius, D; D. VI. 386, Fannia⁽²⁾, A; D. VII. 193, Gramond, A; D. VII. 274, Grotius⁽²⁾, C; D. IX. 493-4, Lucrèce; D. X. 174, Malherbe, C; O. D. I. L. 40, xxii; O. D. III. 966.

3. D. I. 262, Agésipolis, A; D. IV. 485, Cassandre, A; D. V. 203, Cinyras, C; D. VII. 520, 525, Junon, AA, DD; D. VIII. 528-9, Jupiter; D. X. 411, Métella, A; D. X. 418, Méthydre; O. D. III. 308, lxxxii; O. D. III. 348-51, cxv.

It is admitted that the ancient's conception of inexorable deity driving men on to their fate was natural and not unreasonable. Cf. D. VII. 547-9, Hélène, Y; D. XI. 306, Ovide, H.

and the credit for their moral worth does not belong here. (1) They make their gods ridiculous and abominable. (2) The poets, who wrote such atrocities about the gods, had no fear of them, and by their verses helped to diminish the respect for these divinities among their readers. (3) The religion of the ancients would seem even more barbarous if it were not adorned by the conceptions which ancient philosophy inspired. (4) Their mythology and their heroic traditions are distinguished especially by the hopeless confusion of the various stories, by the way in which the stories contradict each other and offer widely different tales of the same characters. (5) It is strange that keen-witted

1. O. D. III. 94, cxlvi; O. D. III, 390.

2. D. I. 395, Alcinoé; D. IV. 313, Calénus, A; D. VI. 367-8, Euripide, AA; D. VII. 18, Ganymède, B; D. VII. 546, Hélène, X; D. VII. 81, Hercule, B; D. IX. 14, Laïs, B.

3. O. D. III. 381-4.

4. O. D. III. 970.

5. D. I. 159, Achille (2), E; D. I. 170 Achilléa, F; D. I. 229, Adonis, H; D. I. 315, Ajax (2) ; D. II. 336, Aristée, C; D. VII. 504, Harpalyce, E; D. VII. 537, Hélène, N.

The morals of the heroes and heroines who

and cultured men should have given credence to absurd fables, yet with few exceptions the ancients accepted these myths, which were merely the product of the ingenuity of certain poets.⁽¹⁾ Ancient mythology has, for Bayle, no beauties.

When he speaks of ancient literature in general, and of its relation to the modern, his attitude is at times friendly and at times not. He grants that the study of the writings of the ancients and of the Greek and Latin languages is an important part in the education of a young man.⁽²⁾ He states that

figure in these stories are deplorable, declares Bayle; they are as libertine as the heroes and heroines of modern fiction are proper. He does not suggest any explanation as to why the ancients, whose virtue he praises in some particulars, should tolerate such depravity in these characters. D. VIII, 156-7, Hypsipyle, C.

1. D. III, 579-80, Borée, G.

The Greeks may indeed be called children in this regard, says Bayle. Yet their superstitions are not unlike the absurd superstitions of Catholics in modern times.

2. O. D. I. 142, iv; O. D. I. L. 32; cf. D. I. 285, Agricola (5), I; O. D. I. L. 47-8.

Bayle suggests in one case that the advantage of studying Greek and Latin is in the mental training of the student. He adds, speaking of Latin: Surmontez la difficulté que vous trouverez à

we owe much to the ancients, that the moderns cannot be credited with any great or delicate thoughts which are not to be found in the books of the older writers. (1)

In speaking of Desmarets and his criticism of the classic poets he declares that for his part he is not against the ancients and thinks them, in most cases, superior. (2) But he does not hesitate to question the authority of the ancients in matters of literature. He is glad not to be carried away by extravagant prejudice in favor of antiquity: je ne suis guères malade, Dieu merci, de cette grande prévention que l'on a pour l'Antiquité. (3) Many believe that the ancients have

composer, car il y a mille occasions où de pouvoir faire des dissertations, des amplifications et des lettres en Latin, fait passer sans autre preuve pour un oracle O. D. I. L. 69. Cf. O. D. I. 178, iv. Bayle advocates the study of Greek. Interest in this belle langue has declined far too much.

1. D. V. 295, Corbinelli, F. It is to be noted that in pointing out the excellence of the ancients Bayle instances their metaphysics and ethics. In regard to these, he suggests, apropos of Descartes, that the moderns are superior by reason of their power to select and systematize.
2. O. D. I. L. 60, xxxv. Bayle grants that Desmarets attains a certain success in attacking the ancient poets.
3. O. D. IV. 533. Cf. D. III. 572, Borée; D. XIV, 437, Virgile, L; Gigas, 28.

written nothing which does not have superior merit; they seek a hidden meaning, in things which seem flat, and, as a matter of fact, are so. Such a point of view is nonsensical; the ancients as well as the moderns are not impeccable.(1)

1. O. D. IV. 536. Cf. O. D. I. 143, V.

Cf. O. D. I. 19: Bayle refuses to give a definite opinion of Homer: he mentions the differences of critics as to the merits of the Greek, and he goes on to say: On l'a traduit en François depuis peu fort purement, et on lui a ôté plusieurs bassesses, qui sont tout à fait éloignées de nos manières: mais tous ces soins n'ont pas sauvé le Prince des Poètes du mépris de nos Connoisseurs. Je me garderai bien de dire qui sont ceux qui ont le goût dépravé; car je ne veux pas subir l'Arrêt terrible qu'avec l'approbation de la plupart de nos Scavans, le jeune Casaubon a prononcé sur tous ceux qui n'admirent pas Homère: "qui Homerum contemnunt vix illis optari quidquam pejus potest quam ut fatuitate sua fruantur." Bayle's leanings seem evident enough in this case. Cf. *Lentient*, pp.210,11.

O. D. II. 202, xiv. The vanity which characterizes the classic writers, says Bayle, offers a bad example for the moderns. Combien, croyez-vous, Monsieur, que les Vers du troisième des Géorgiques, où Virgile promet à Mantoue sa patrie, et à l'Empereur Auguste, de les immortaliser par ses Ouvrages, ont fait mentir de méchans Poètes, qui ont dit à l'imitation de celui-là, que leurs Vers dureroient éternellement? Parce qu'Horace et Ovide ont dit que leurs Vers dureroient plus que les marbres, et qu'ils résisteroient à toutes les injures du tems, n'y a-t-il pas en une infinité de Poètes bons et mauvais, qui ont prophétisé eux-mêmes l'immortalité de leurs Poésies. Bayle also refers to Cicero here.

In the comparisons which Bayle makes concerning the literary efforts of the ancients and moderns in particular genres he generally awards the palm to his contemporaries. He has something to say about the poetry of the two schools, and makes a few remarks about other methods of literary expression.

The epic of the ancients is far too simple and naïve. Homer was a great genius and produced masterpieces, but he introduced into his work elements that are too common, too bourgeois, elements that, in the seventeenth century, could be tolerated only in comedy. Doubtless if he had lived in modern times he could have written a faultless epic, but as it is, various details of his work may be censured on the score of naïveté. It is naïve to represent Andromache as lamenting, when Hector dies, that little Astyanax will no longer eat sheep fat and marrow while seated on his father's knee. It may have been natural for Andromache to say this, but it destroys the dignity of the epic.⁽¹⁾ The dignity of the epic suffers again

1. D. II. 99, Andromaque, H.

When Achilles is represented as weeping at the loss of Briseis, his comforter, including a little boy, carrying his tale of woe to his mother for consolation. (1)

The conduct of Nausicaa when Ulysses presents himself to her in Phaeacia is decidedly naive. (2) It is absurd that Phoenix, charged with an important message for Achilles, should, when he delivers that message, amuse himself with nurse's tales and stories of adventure. (3)

Virgil is also open to censure in this matter of naivete: It is certain that a countess or marchioness would think it bourgeois to express such a sentiment as Tideo, apropos of Aeneas:

..... Si quis mihi parvulus aula
luderet Aeneas..... (4)

Modern poetry is much more free from obscenities than the ancient. Catullus and Horace express themselves with a license found at present only in such poets as Theophile, Rigogne, Metin, and Barthelot, poets qui sent

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1. D. I. 160, Achille (2), G.
 2. D. XI. 104-5, Nausicaa.
 3. D. I. 158, Achille (2), C. On Homer's heroes, cf. section XI. pages 174-5 of the present study.
 4. D. II. 99, Andromaque, H.

l'horreur des honnêtes gens, et qui ne plaisent qu'à des Soldats ou à des Laquais. (1) It may be that the seventeenth century is not actually more virtuous than any other, but it is certain that there is more regard for outward decency. The writings of some of the classic poets indicate that the ancient times, now so revered, were really rough and gross, without any suggestion of true urbanity. (1)

In one case the ancient poets had particular merit: they excelled in depicting passion. Their theory that love is an all-powerful divinity is most acceptable, and seems to be the result of a careful study of the great book of nature. Bayle calls attention to the attitude of Lucretius, who denied the providence of the gods but accepted love as the soul of the universe. (2) In another instance, however,

1. O. D. I. 69. Even modern comedy and modern fiction, says Bayle here, are freed to some extent from the obscenity that once characterized such writings. Cf. D. IV. 101, Brachmanes, K; D. IV. 593, Catulle; D. IX. 233, Lycurgue, H; O. D. I. 504, I.

2. O. D. I. 634.

Bayle says that the moderns are undoubtedly superior to the Ancients. No Greek or Roman writer has produced anything which may be compared with the Contes of La Fontaine. Certainly the joy of the humanists would be great if they should find an ancient author who had written anything with the grace and beauty and piquancy that characterize La Fontaine's work. (1)

Bayle offers some slight comment concerning various other literary genres. In regard to the drama he suggests that the modern public would not tolerate a certain frankness in calling things by their names, which did not shock the delicacy of Greek and Roman ears. (2) In one case he compares two plays, the Amphitryon of Plautus and the Amphitryon of Molière. The former is excellent, but if the outcome of the dispute over ancients and moderns depended on these two productions the moderns would win. Molière had to make many changes to adapt the piece to the French

1. O. D. I. 273, v.

2. D. XIV. 59, Tecmesse, B.

stage; his raillery and finesse are much superior to that of Plautus. ⁽¹⁾ As to memoirs, there are few supporters of antiquity so prejudiced as to declare Julius Caesar the superior of La Rochefoucauld. ⁽²⁾ In the matter of panegyrics, too, Bayle claims the victory for his contemporaries -- or at least he claims that the moderns go to even greater extremes than the ancients in this regard. The ancients, indeed, hardly recognized any limit: Il n'y a presque point de louange qu'on ne trouve dans les anciens panegyristes. Peu s'en faut que Pline n'ait épuisé toutes les idées de la perfection d'un souverain. ⁽³⁾ But the moderns have gone even further: les panegyristes modernes poussent leurs idées plus loin que ne faisaient les anciens, quoique ceux-ci eussent une plus ample matière. ⁽⁴⁾ The most ardent partisans

1. D. I. 552, Amphytryon, B. Cf. section XI. page 215, note 1, of the present study.

2. D. V. 30, César, G.

3. D. VI. 254-5, Ermite, G.

4. D. VI. 51, Drusus ⁽³⁾, D. Cf. O. D. I. 350; O. D. IV. 535.

of the ancients, says Bayle, must admit that in this kind of literature their heroes are surpassed.⁽¹⁾ In history also the moderns are superior. The ancient historians are inaccurate, they neglect details, they do not note carefully the events which took place under their very eyes. The moderns, given the same opportunities to control the material, could produce much better histories.

Bayle does not bring up definitely the question as to whether there is any broad underlying principle which should determine one's preference for the one school or the other. But he at least suggests, apropos of the epic, the idea that the real issue is the question of progress; that it is not a matter of

1. D. VI. 51, Drusus⁽³⁾, C.

2. D. II. 49, Anaxagoras, K; D. II. 574, Aurélien, I; D. IV. 421, Cappadoce, J; D. IV. 425, Cappadoce, K; D. IV. 504, Cassius⁽⁴⁾, F; D. V. 288, Conon⁽²⁾, I; D. VI. 382, Fabricius, E; D. VIII. 159, Hirpius, E; O. D. I. 617, iii; O. D. I. 633.

Bayle also says that the inaccuracy of the ancients may be noted in their works of erudition and that their scientific skill is slight, D. I. 418, Aldrovandus; D. II. 257, Archélaus⁽⁵⁾, A; D. III. 431 Byblos, C; D. VI. 267, Eschyle, H; D. XI. 102, Naucratis, B; O. D. I. 136, XIII; O. D. IV. 731.

comparing the relative merits of an ancient and a modern individual, but of deciding whether the seventeenth century is a step nearer perfection than the preceding ones. If the epics of antiquity are imperfect, it is the fault of their time.⁽¹⁾ The license of the ancient poets is not to be blamed so much on the individuals as on the period in which they lived.⁽²⁾ In a word, our author seems to think that since the time of the ancients, there has been progress.

1. D. II. 99, Andromaque, H; cf. D. I. 160 Achille⁽²⁾, G; D. XI. 105-6, Nauzicaa, C; O. D. IV. 534.

2. O. D. I. 69.

XI.

INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS.

Bayle had a remarkable interest in all kinds of books. He dipped into many different literatures, and became familiar to some extent with writers of all types. His linguistic equipment was fairly good. He knew Latin thoroughly and had some knowledge of Greek, Italian and Spanish, but did not understand English. His various studies, and above all the Dictionary, led him far afield and he came back acquainted with innumerable authors, and possessed of opinions of some definiteness concerning many of them. These opinions are often found, expressed merely as obiter dicta, throughout his writings. It seems safe to assume that they are, for the most part, original with Bayle, or, if they merely echo the statement of another, that they are at least supported by some personal knowledge of the individual works in question. (1)

The literature of the moderns, and especially that of his own country, is better known to Bayle than

1. Where it is evident that Bayle is subscribing to the opinion of another, I have indicated the fact in a note.

the productions of the ancients. There is more comment on French authors than on any others. Yet he is quite familiar with the Romans and had some knowledge, though certainly a less intimate one, of the Greeks. In outlining his opinions, a chronological order has, in general, been followed.

Of the Bible, as a work of literature, our author has hardly anything to say. He mentions, several times, the obscurities of the accounts given by Moses, and suggests that a narrative written with so little clearness by an ordinary historian would be open to criticism. But doubtless the Divinity who directed the prophet's efforts had reasons for making him write in this way. The description of Judith in the Bible is even more wonderful in its simplicity than Homer's description of Helen. Bayle refers to the remark that Judith was so virtuous that no one ever spoke the least ill of her, --- there could be no higher praise, he says. (2) In another instance, he cites a passage of St. Paul with praise for the vivid description of the misery of mankind,

1. O. D. I. 428, ii; cf. O. D. I. 592, ii; D. IX. 36, Lameck, D; cf. D. II. 549, Augustin: Bayle refers to the simplicity of style of the Bible.

2. O. D. I. 188.

given by the apostle. (1)

Among the Greeks, Homer receives particular attention, as the greatest of all the poets. (2) Bayle gives definite testimony to having read all of the Iliad and of the Odyssey, (3) and has various criticisms to offer. He praises Homer highly, but his attitude is by no means reverential and he does not hesitate to criticise on occasion. The Greek bard is named ce grand et incomparable observateur de la vraisemblance (4) qui peignait si heureusement et si naïvement toutes les passions. (5) He

1. D. XI. 306, Ovide, H. The passage is The Epistle to the Romans, VII, 15 sgg.

There is no other mention of Hebrew literature outside of slight references to Josephus. The latter is criticised in two cases for lack of judgment, for reasoning badly in his history. D. IV. 303, Cain, D; D. XII. 5, Phasélis, A.

2. D. XI. 533, Penélope: le plus grand de tous les poètes. Cf. C. D. I. 17, viii, 688, v, 716. Cf. section X. page 103, note 1, of the present study, reference to C. D. I. 19.

3. C. D. I. L. 13: je m'abandonnai à la lecture des Poètes grecs et pour commencer par le plus facile et le meilleur tout ensemble, je lus toute l'Illiade et toute l'Odyssée d'Homère, ensuite les oeuvres d'Hésiode et de Théocrite, le plus obscur des trois.

4. O. D. III. 366.

5. D. VII. 393. Guise (4), O.

admirably fulfils the demands of vraisemblance in representing the poltroon Paris as the most amorous of his characters, for a man weak in other ways often has les forces vénériennes in abundance. ⁽¹⁾ He is again true to life when he represents Telemachus as protesting to his mother that she is too cold towards Ulysses, for such a remark was natural on the part of a grand garçon. ⁽²⁾ But he should not have copied nature so faithfully: he should have made Telemachus speak with more respect to his mother. There is one place where Homer is guilty of invraisemblance: it is not likely that Paris, when he carried off Helen, restrained his ardor until they reached the Island of Cranae. ⁽³⁾ There is no description of the

1. D. VII. 393, Guise ⁽⁴⁾, O. Cf. D. II. 472, Artémise, E: Bayle seems to think that if weak men often have this quality, warriors do too. He says: On remarque que les plus grands hommes de guerre sont pour la plupart de complexion amoureuse, de quoi les humanistes mystiques peuvent faire honneur à Homère, qui a si naïvement raconté les liaisons de Mars et de Vénus.

2. D. XI. 537, Pénélope, D.

3. D. VII. 535, Hélène, L.

Cf. O. D. I. 735: Bayle brings up the same question but here does not himself blame Homer for lack of vraisemblance on this point. Après tout, les enlèvements ne doivent pas être d'un aussi prompt effet selon le jugement des Romanistes, que selon celui des autres hommes, ce seroit aller bien loin. Evidently he thinks that the romancers do not have to follow nature exactly. He goes on to discuss the extreme virtue which modern novelists assign to their kidnapped heroines. Homer was certainly not guilty of any such extravagance against vraisemblance as this. Cf. Section II. page 18, of the present study.

beauty of Helen so striking as that given by Homer. (1) He makes no attempt to draw her portrait, but merely states that the counsellors of Priam, on seeing her, said they did not wonder that the Greeks and Trojans would endure so much for a beauty so divine. The poet's depiction of his great hero, Achilles, is open to censure; this warrior had some rather unheroic traits. He does not seem a noble figure when he treats the body of Hector with brutality or when he finally yields the body to Priam for a payment in money. (2) Moreover Homer did not understand that he would have done his hero more honor if he had represented his opponent as more valorous. (3) Bayle discusses

1. D. VII. 527, Hélène, A: Cf. above, page 172, note 2.

2. D. I. 161, Achille. (2), H.
Cf. D. VII. 134, Contaut (2), H: Bayle cites Plutarch's criticism of Achilles which names him jeune fol es-tourdy, et transporté par convoitise d'honneur, because of his wish that no one else should attack Hector in order that he might have to himself all the glory of killing the Trojan. Cf. C. D. IV. 535: on Ulysses: il n'y a pas grande différence entre un Héros d'Homère et un crocheteur etc. on the naïveté of Homer's characters cf. section X. pages 131-5 of the present study.

3. C. D. IV. 535: Bayle refers here to Ulysses' skill as a hewer of wood, and builder of boats. Such accomplishments are not especially heroic, he thinks. His tone is certainly slighting, but he tells his friend, Bagnage, to whom he is writing this letter that he will drop the subject, so as to avoid a matter which has been a source of dispute between them. In this same place Bayle refers to Virgil qui imitoit Homère aveuglément.

the monstrous and immoral character of the paganism of the ancients as reflected in the poetry of Homer. (1) He deplores the impiétés poétiques of the blind bard and his followers. (2) Homer is blameworthy as well as the other poets for introducing gods to help him solve insignificant complications in the plot; herein he acted against the rules of poetical composition. (3)

Although he commends Plutarch in some respects, Bayle is not sparing in adverse criticism. He frequently points out inaccuracies in specific passages, and suggests that Plutarch's imagination sometimes supplied his lack of

1. O. D. III. 965; O. D. III. 366: In this case Bayle cites Cicero as well as Homer. Cf. D. VIII. 506, Junon, I: A suggestion that Homer is censurable for representing Jupiter, the chief of the gods, in an undignified position.

2. D. VII. 27, Garasse, I.

3. O. D. III. 137, ccxxiii.

Cf. D. IX. 192. Lestrygons: Homer is accused of a mistake in geography; D. VIII. 39, Henri III, K: la vérité d'une sentence d'Homère.

Cf. D. I. 160. Achille (2), F: of the episode where Thetis gets armour a second time from Vulcan, Bayle says: C'est un des plus beaux épisodes de l'Illiade, et il a servi de modèle à Virgile pour l'un des meilleurs morceaux de l'Enéide.

Cf. D. IV. 141, Briséis, E: Bayle mentions the question of whether Achilles was in love with Briseis, and maintains, for his part, that Achilles was. He adds that Homer spoke in most illogical fashion when he said that Achilles loved Briseis even though she had fallen to his lot by force of arms.

exact knowledge. (1) Of certain contradictions found in this author he suggests that the Greek applied his facts now in one way, now in another, according to the needs of the occasion. (2) Bayle approves of Plutarch's idea that women, instead of being kept in ignorance, should be educated. (3) But he grants that Plutarch, in defending this opinion, does not argue adroitly, since he introduces an unseasonable detail, a detail which serves no purpose and which could readily be used against his view. (4) The biographer is criticised several times for

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1. D. VIII. 513, Junon, T: je crains bien qu'à l'égard de beaucoup de faits nous ne trouvions dans ses livres, non pas ce qu'il avait lu, mais la forme que les histoires qu'il avait lues prenaient dans son imagination. Cf. D. V. 300, Cimon, H: Il faut avouer que Plutarque n'est point un bon guide de chronologie; il transpose quelquefois les événemens tout comme s'il composait un poème épique, et qu'il aspirât à l'éloge qu'Horace donne à Homère. (87) Note 87, referred to by Bayle, reads: In medias res non secus ac notas auditorem rapit. Cf. D. II. 105, Andronicus C; D. V. 549 Dolabella, C; D. X. 575, Mucie B; etc.
 2. D. I. 164, Achille (2), M: Ce n'est pas le seul exemple qui montre que Plutarque se rendait tellement maître de certains faits, qu'il les tournait et les appliquait tantôt d'une façon, tantôt de l'autre. Cf. D. VI. 361, Euripide, O. Cf. also D. IX. 235, Lycurgue, D: Il est difficile qu'un auteur qui a écrit autant de livres que Plutarque ne se contredise souvent.
 3. O. D. III. 587, xliv.
 4. O. D. III. 586-7, xliii.

lack of logic in his reasoning. ⁽¹⁾ The equitable judgment of Plutarch concerning Epicurus is commended, and in this connection the former is named: l'un des plus graves auteurs du paganisme, et celui qui se déclarait le plus constamment pour les bonnes mœurs. ⁽²⁾

The fables of Aesop are of especial interest to Bayle. They are, in his opinion, admirable for the way in

1. D. IX. 232, Lycurgue, H. Cf: On trouverait un million de pareils sophismes dans Plutarque, si l'on prenait la peine de les bien chercher. D. X. 412-3, Métella, C. Cf. Bayle's final remark here: J'ai dit ailleurs qu'une critique comme celle-ci, qu'on peut appeler une critique de dialecticien, est capable de rendre plus de service aux jeunes lecteurs qu'une critique de grammair. Cf. D. V. 183, Chrysippe, X; O. D. III. 503, sgg. Plutarch is accused of introducing certain reflections mal apropos.

2. D. VI. 189-90, Epicure, Q.

Bayle refers to Plutarch several times in connection with theological and philosophical questions. It is apropos of a comment on the subject by Plutarch that he discusses the principle of final causes in relation to miracles and prodigies. Plutarch's observation here, he declares specious (D. XI. 588, Périclès, A; cf. Cazes.) He mentions Plutarch in connection with the doctrine that the universe is under the dominion of two opposing principles, a good and a bad. Plutarch, he says, believed in this false dogma. (D. X. 193, Manichéens, C; D. XI. 601, Périclès, K.) When arguing that paganism may be worse than atheism, he cites Plutarch, and states in the course of the discussion that of all the ancients Plutarch was the most religious. This is brought out especially in the work where Plutarch prefers atheism to superstition. (O. D. III, 182) Plutarch proves beyond doubt that the abominations of idolatry make it worse than atheism. But he reasons badly when he defends atheism on the basis of its physical rather than its moral advantages. (O. D. III, 123, xciii.)

Cf. D. IX. 226, Lycurgue, C; D. XI. 554, Péréira, E; D. XI. 593, Périclès, D; D. XV. 94, Zoroastre, F.

which they combine charm and moral instruction. (1) Notre siècle, quelque délicat et quelque orgueilleux qu'il soit, les estime et les admire, et leur donne cent sortes de formes. L'inimitable la Fontaine leur a procuré de nos jours un grand honneur et un grand éclat. (2) Aesop's apologues are the most useful of the fables of antiquity. (3)

Of the Greek historians Thucydides is commended the most highly; he is a great and a serious historian. (4) He is especially praiseworthy for having done justice to his enemies. (5) The concise, sententious style which was characteristic of this writer is mentioned. (5) Herodotus was

1. D. VI. 282, Esopé (2), G. Bayle echoes the opinion of Aulus Gellius.
2. D. VI. 283, Esopé (2), G.
3. D. VI. 277, Esopé. Bayle echoes the opinion of Plato and others. Cf. section XII, page 263, note 1, of the present study, on Aesop's idea of ups and downs in the world. Bayle also says that the fables of Phaedrus are splendid. D. VI. 287, Esopé (2), M; D. XII. 12, Phèdre, G.
4. Cf. D. I. 548, Amphiloehus, B: un historien grave. Cf. O. D. I. L. 33: Quinte Curce, Thucydide, Xenophon, Hérodote, Plutarque, Tite-Live sont les meilleurs historiens grecs et latins.
5. O. D. IV. 750.
6. D. V. 329, Critias, E.
On Thucydides cf. D. XII. 36, Philistus, D: ce sera toujours pour Philistus un titre honorable, que d'avoir été nommé "le petit Thucydide" par Cicéron. Ceux qui donnerent l'éloge de petit Molière à un comédien de Paris, ne crurent pas le louer médiocrement.

a credulous historian. (1) Bayle objects to his tendency to dwell on the marvellous, (2) and agrees with Plutarch that Herodotus is open to censure for his idea that one of the causes of human misery is the envy, the malignity, of the gods. (3) There is hardly any criticism of Xenophon. (4) Dion is considered by Bayle an unreliable historian. (5)

The Greek poets outside of Homer receive little attention. Aristophanes, Euripides and Sophocles are mentioned among those who excelled in dramatic poetry. (6)

1. D. XII. 520, Rhodope, A: Hérodote, qui n'était pas d'une humeur fort difficile par rapport aux contes. In this case, however, Bayle grants that he refutes a certain conte solidly.
2. Cf. section VI., page 94 of the present study.
3. Cf. D. XI. 606-12, Périclès, L: Bayle states that the attempt of Henri Etienne to justify Herodotus was extremely poor. Cf. D. II. 448, Artaban, B: Notez qu' Hérodote connaissait très-bien les vanités et les misères du genre humain; mais il affectait un peu trop d'en chercher la cause dans la jalousie ou dans la malignité des dieux. Cf. D. IX. 418, Louis XI, R.
4. Cf. D. XI. 585, Périandre, F: Bayle praises a description of the condition of a tyrant. Cf. D. XI. 608-9, Périclès, L: A reference to the orthodoxy of a maxim which Xenophon advances concerning the gods.
5. D. VI. 617, Fulvie (2), F.
6. O. D. I. 716.

Euripides is le philosophe du théâtre. (1) He is quoted once or twice with a favorable word, (2) but no real judgment of his literary merits is offered, although an article in the Dictionary is devoted to the poet. (3) Bayle refers to an ode of Pindar in which, he suggests, the poet was un peu prolix. (4) Lycophron wrote obscurely, but he must have been a man of considerable esprit. (5)

A few other Greeks are given a passing word: Longinus, as a keen and sure critic with a fine power of

1. D. XI. 305, Ovide, H. Certain belles maximes are quoted.
2. D. I. 259, Agesilaus (2), H. D. VII. 543, Hélène, R.
3. D. VI. 348-72, Euripide. Bayle merely says: l'un de ceux qui ont excellé dans la tragédie Cf. O. D. III. 336. cvi. Bayle refers to a philosophical conception of Jupiter found in Euripides; he adds: C'est Hécube qui parle, et cela est trop philosophe pour une femme.

There is no definite judgment on Aristophanes. Cf. O. D. I. 504-6: a review of an edition of 3 plays of Aristophanes (Le Plutus - Les Nuées). It is agreed here that Aristophanes is most blameworthy for his treatment of Socrates. Cf. D. XI. 313, Périclès, M: Bayle approves in a general way of a political aphorism of Aristophanes.

I find no criticism of Sophocles.

4. D. V. 491, Diagoras.
5. D. IX. 210, Lycophron (2). Cf. D. X. 516, Mopsus, A: ce poète ténébreux.

discernment. (1) Théon, as a rhetorician of polish and taste, whose work offers proof of his judgment. (2) Theophrastus, as a man who wrote iclinement on the foibles of mankind. (3) Bayle refers to Diogenes Laertius several times to blame him for not writing clearly and exactly. (4) Demosthenes was especially admirable for the vehemence with which he spoke. (5) Lucian has given an entertaining

1. Cf. D. XII. 176, Plotin I; D. I. 496, Amélius. Cf. O. D. IV. 533-4. Bayle admits that he has high esteem for Longinus but censures him severely and at length for his criticisms on the use of a certain comparison.
2. D. XIV. 102, Théon.
3. O. D. I. L. 54: Bayle praises in the same breath a book entitled Morum Characteres, by Louis Dumoulin, Professeur en histoire en Angleterre.
4. D. II. 348, Ariston D; D. VI. 173, Epicure, D; D. V. 480, Démocrite B: Diogène Laërce étrangle de telle sorte ses narrations; D. IV. 359, Camaldoli: Bayle says that this man wished to try translating the ancients and il en choisit un qui n'était pas des plus traitables, je veux dire Diogène Laërce . . .
5. D. VI. 320, Euclide, (note 45): Rien ne fut plus admirable dans cet orateur que la véhémence. Cf. O. D. I. 375. Bayle makes essentially the same remark, apparently on the authority of another. Cf. D. V. 385, Darius, B: Démosthène avait bonne grâce lorsqu'il dit à ceux qui donnaient à Philippe, roi de Macédoine, la louange de boire beaucoup: Ce n'est pas là une qualité royale, c'est celle d'une éponge. Bayle quotes this from Plutarch.

account of the foolishness of the Greek religion, but his motive is bad, for he merely wanted to indulge his satirical spirit and was not prompted at all by a sincere desire to seek truth. (1) Strabo is an excellent geographer. (2)

As we turn to the Romans it is to be noted that Bayle draws a somewhat definite line between two sets of writers. He points out the fact that there is a considerable difference between the writings of Cicero or his contemporaries and those of the later Latin authors such as Pliny and Tacitus. (3) The earlier productions are characterized by simplicity and solid worth; the others are more brilliant. Cicero, Livy and Virgil made no effort to dazzle; their productions were as smooth and as even as they were excellent. But the writers of the second group

1. D. XI. 637, Périers, B. Rabelais resembles Lucian in his satires on religion, suggests Bayle.

Cf. D. VIII. 524, Junon, C C: A reference to Lucian's malignes plaisanteries. D. VII. 18, Sany-mède, R: un impie qui ne se plaisait qu'à tourner en ridicule la religion.

2. D. IX. 122, Lemnos.

Cf. D. XIII. 320-1, Siris, B: Praise of a judicious reflection by Strabo. D. VIII. 94, Hercule, T: A reference to a detail when Strabo raisonnait plus adroitement que sincèrement.

3. D. VII. 334-5, Priolo, L; cf. Gigas, 84. (Cf. section IV. page 36, note 1, of the present study, the reference to the letter published by Gigas. pp. 74-85.)

sought after extraordinary and startling effects. For them and their readers a regular and dignified eloquence had grown insipid and they demanded something abnormal to stir them. This change of taste is not unlike that which occurs in the case of those who habitually indulge in good wines: after a time they reach a point where the most excellent wine fails to stimulate, and their palate can only be pleased by unusually powerful drinks. Bayle has no little comment to make on the writers of both these periods.

Cicero was the most eloquent Roman orator. (1) He is blameworthy for the extreme violence of his invectives and the unchristian attacks on his enemies. (2) He is also a base flatterer. (3) His style, however, is marvellous for its simplicity and clearness; the ease and

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1. D. IV. 502. Cassius Longinus, A: du plus éloquent orateur de Rome. D. V. 25, César, C: cet illustre orateur.
 2. O. D. II. 202: le plus médisant, le plus emporté et le plus satyrique de tous les hommes . . . s'admirer l'éloquence de ce grand homme, son esprit, ses belles pensées; mais je ne laisse pas de dire qu'il déshonorait trop cruellement ses ennemis, pour être le modèle de l'éloquence Chrétienne. Cf. O. D. II. 200: un homme qui entendoit l'invective, autant ou plus que qui que ce soit.
 3. O. D. II. 202.

naturalness with which he writes offer a lesson to those (1)
 who think that Latin style should be involved and tortuous.
 Of the works of Cicero, Bayle praises the *Erutus*, (2) the
De Officiis, (3) the *Pro Ligario*, (4) and the *Pro Roscio*. (5)
 One of the best is the *De Legibus*. (6) But none of Cicero's
 writings are more worthy of the reader's attention than his
Letters. On y trouve cent particularitez dont l'Histoire n'a
point fait mention; on y voit le détail de mille choses,
qui seroient entièrement inconnues sans cela: on y rencontre
le caractère de plusieurs personnes; on y voit le jeu des
passions, et une image fidèle du coeur; la Morale, la Poli-
tique, et l'éloquence y règnent partout . . . En un mot que
ne peut - on se promettre de la lecture d'un Livre qui non
seulement contient, l'Histoire des choses qui se passoient

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1. O. D. I. 169. Bayle's writings abound in quotations from Cicero. He frequently introduces them with cette belle description. (D. IV. 413. Capradocce, D), Cicéron décrit cela extrêmement bien. (D. V. 128, Chéridonis, A) etc. etc.
 2. O. D. IV. 797, ccli.
 3. O. D. III. 397, cxliv. D. X. 336, Marsus.
 4. D. IX. 240, Ligarius, A.
 5. D. I. 494, Amélia.
 6. D. IV. 467, Carnéade, H. Cf. O. D. III. 412, foot note (n): Il n'y a rien de plus beau que les discours où Cicéron montre . . . que l'honnêteté de la vertu est naturelle
 This follows a quotation from *De Legibus*.

mais aussi celle de ce qui devoit arriver? Un homme dont les conjectures étoient si sûres, qu'il destinoit presque toujours le train que prendroient les affaires générales, ne pouvoit être qu'un Esprit sublime; or tel étoit Cicéron comme il nous l'apprend lui-même, et tel a-t-il paru dans ses Lettres à Pomponius Atticus, comme l'a remarqué Cornelius Nepos. (1) Such a Look is of great use to those who have a hand in the government of nations. (1)

Virgil is the most excellent poet of ancient Rome, and the Aeneid is regarded by the world as a finished production, (2) and is characterized by a commendable modesty

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1. O. D. I. 55, vii. On Cicero's praising himself, cf. O. D. II. 202: Cicéron se loue lui-même avec une liberté, ou plutôt avec une licence si effrénée, que cela ne peut être que de très-mauvais exemple.

For other references to Cicero cf: D. V. 318, Cratippe, D: Bayle speaks of De Divinatione to censure one detail and praise another. D. XI. 485, Pauliciens, E. A mention of Cicero's academic turn of mind: Son esprit d'académicien étoit dans son élément lorsqu'il pouvoit faire voir qu'on peut soutenir le pour et le contre à l'infini. The remark is apropos of a philosophical dispute. Note that Cicero is named un des plus excellens génies qui ait jamais été. O. D. III. 270, lix: The eloquence of a passage in De Natura Deorum is praised. It is suggested, O. D. III. 332, that Cicero came very near atheism in this book.

2. D. XIV. 421. Virgile. Cf. Bayle's advice to his student brother: Pour les poètes, Virgile est sans doute le meilleur: O. D. I. L. 32. Cf. D. XIV. 435, Virgile, K: The majesty of the Aeneid, Bayle says, should have saved it from the hands of burlesque writers. In this he echoes the sentiments of Varro, whom he cites. Scarron, he adds, succeeded best in writing a travesty on Virgil.

and decency. If the Bucolics lack these last named qualities, and if they contain descriptions of criminal passions, Virgil is not to be impugned therefor, since doubtless his work only reflects the fault of his age. It is certain that he may, as an author, have introduced saletés in his poetry, without its following that, as a man, he was especially inclined to such things. And there is reason to believe he was a man of much virtue.⁽¹⁾ Virgil was justified in following popular tradition concerning the coming of Aeneas to Italy, but is guilty of a gross anachronism in making Aeneas and Dido contemporaries, pour précipiter son Héros dans la plus vilaine action, qui se puisse commettre dans un Roman, et pour deshonorner tout à la fois l'Amant et l'Amante. . . .⁽²⁾ The character of Dido seems to interest Bayle especially.⁽³⁾ He commends the vrai-

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1. D. XIV. 424-5. Virgile A. Cf. section I. pages 8-11 of the present study, on whether a man's writings reflect his personal characteristics. Apropos of Virgil's moral excellence Bayle states, D. XIV. 427, Virgile, D, that he admires even more than the beauty of his poetry the fact that his noble character made him loved even by rival poets.
 2. O. D. I. 92. iv, cf. O. D. III. 81, cxxvii: cette Reine, dont Virgile a si indignement sacrifié l'honneur, si non contre la vraisemblance, du moins contre la vérité. On the anachronism in question, cf. Vovasseur de ludi-crâ Dictione, p. 180: cum ab Aenea Dido distaret ipse trecentis annis. (Bayle cites the passage, D. XIV. 435, Virgile, K.)
 3. Cf. D. V. 232. Cléonice, A (on le pauvre Dider); D. V. 232. Combabus, B; D. VII. 137, Goubaugé (4), A.

semblance of Virgil's portrayal of Juno, who in consequence of her jealous and vindictive nature must indeed have been continually scheming against her enemies. (1)

Virgil is frequently quoted, and sometimes with a passing remark. (2) He occasionally discusses a passage at more length, with miscellaneous comments, but what he thinks of the general characteristics of Virgil can hardly be deduced from them. Virgil's account of the administration of justice in Hades is open to criticism. He says that Minos delivers justice with great exactness, and yet he shows the innocent are sometimes chastised. Here is inconsistency, and the moral benefit which comes from the consideration of such uncertain justice is evidently slight. Besides this, Virgil represents the infernal deities as dealing out punishment for crimes of which they themselves

1. O. D. III. 349. Cf. O. D. II. 488, ii: The complaint of the Trojans on landing in Africa:

Quod genus hoc hominum, quævis hunc tam
barbara morem

Permittit patria? Hæc itic prohibemur arææ;
Pella ciant, primaque vetant consistere terra.
was natural in the mouths of humane men.

2. The comment is generally limited to such expressions as: Virgile décrit la chose en très-beaux termes, D. XII. 114 Pyrrhus, D; Le passage . . . est beau, O. D. I I. 148, cxxlvii; la destinée de la plupart des animaux comme Virgile l'a si bien représentée, O. D. III. 271, etc.

are guilty. but he did not fail to recognize this discrepancy, and he based his ideas concerning the punishment of theft, adultery, incest and the like, not on the public religion which granted that the gods had committed such crimes, but on la religion naturelle que les Philosophes avoient conservée. (1) Of the frightful sentences imposed by the gods, the eternal suffering which would shock human notions of clemency, Virgil would have to say that the standards of the gods in awarding punishment are different from those of mortals. Otherwise he would be open to severe criticism on this score. (2)

Bayle discusses Virgil's choice of the epithet inlaudatus in characterizing the monstrous tyrant Eusiris. He adduces the opposing arguments as to whether the poet used discernment in choosing such an expression, and he decides that if Virgil meant by inlaudatus "not praiseworthy", he did not express himself strongly enough, and that if he used the word in the old sense of "unnamable", "unspeakable", he was guilty of an archaism. Doubtless Virgil was forced by the exigencies of verse to use a

1. O. D. III. 962-3.

2. O. D. III. 878.

word which adjusted itself better to the line than to the sense. (1) The episode of the prodigies which happened at the death of Julius Caesar, when animals spoke, brazen statues sweat, rivers stopped in their courses, etc., is not well placed in the Georgics, a work on Agriculture. But it helped Virgil's eloquence and enabled him to pay court to Augustus. (2)

Another of the great Augustans is Ovid. (3) He is praiseworthy, among other things, for not writing in a satirical vein, although he showed, on one occasion, that he could compose the most cutting verses. (4) Like many authors he wrote with great facility but was careless

1. D. IV. 274-8, Busiris, B. Cf. La quantité des syllabes demande bien des sacrifices aux poètes dans les langues mortes, comme la rime en demande beaucoup dans les vivantes. Bayle adds that the expression non louable might have been used in such a case in a comic sense, but not in a grave style.
2. O. D. III. 43, foot note (cf. Georgics, end of Ek. I.) Cf. P. XI. 306, Périclès, K: Il (Virgil) était fort disposé à déifier ses bienfaiteurs: ses terres ayant été épargnées par une grâce particulière d'Octavien, il le qualifia dieu.
D. V. 232, Cléonice, A; D. VIII. 515, Junon, K;
D. XI. 211, Octavie, C; D. XII. 37, Phlegyas, D; O.
D. I. 393, 4.
3. D. XI. 285, Ovide.
4. D. XI. 288, Ovide.

about correcting his productions after the first inspiration had departed. (1) Ovid was thoroughly acquainted with the realm of love; he was himself a strenuous gallant and he worked out a system for this pernicious business. (2) His verses are frightfully obscene. He does not use the vile expressions found in Catullus, Horace and Martial nor does he treat some of the infamies which they take up, but the delicacy and elegance with which he writes makes the impurity of his words the more dangerous. (3) The best work of Ovid is the Metamorphoses, as the poet himself judged, and one of the finest parts of this work is the description of chaos. (3)

1. D. XI. 316-7, Ovide, R.

2. D. XI. 388, Ovide, A. Bayle doubts Ovid's protestation of innocence as to certain gallantries.

Cf. D.VII. 551, Hélène, A A: un des plus grands législateurs de l'empire de l'Amour.

D. III. 426, Byblis: un savant maître dans l'art de peindre l'Amour.

Cf. D. III. 428, Byblis, F; D. VI. 380, Ermite, I; D. XV. 326, Eclair. sur les Obscenités.

3. D. XI. 285, Ovide. Fine as regards expression, says Bayle, but the dogmas which Ovid advances concerning chaos are confused and contradictory - worse than the chaos described. He gives a philosophical discussion of the ancients' conception of chaos, a conception, he says, which Ovid paraphrased.

Ovid is quoted often, with favorable comment: D. VII. 207. Grassis, D: Ovide assure avec beaucoup de raison; C. D. III. 87, cxxxv: a parfaitement bien représenté; C. D. III. 200, ix., 385; etc. Cf. also

Others of the earlier Latin poets are briefly mentioned. Lucretius is named one of the great poets of his day. (1) But his poetry is different from that of Virgil and Ovid. The latter narrate events, depict sentiments, according to the rules of the métier. Le Poème de Lucrèce est d'une toute autre nature: on y expose un système de physique, on le prouve, on répond aux difficultés, et l'on réfute l'opinion contraire, et l'on fait de tout cela son principal soin. (2) Bayle refers a number of times to the excellent maxims concerning morals to be found in his work. (3) Lucretius describes certain phenomena in terms that are frank, even obscene, but this is excusable in view of the subject he deals with; Lucretius is a poète physicien. (4)

D. VI. 42, Drusus (3): La consolation qui fut écrite par Ovide à Livie, mère de cet illustre défunt, (Drusus), est un poème qui mérite d'être lu; D. XI. 313, Ovide, M: It is suggested that Ovide may have been guilty of flattery; D. XI. 315, Ovide, P: Bayle says Ovid did not understand a certain opinion of Pythagoras.

1. D. IX. 507, Lucrèce. In this article, apropos of Lucretius, there is a discussion of various philosophical ideas, and especially the philosophy of Epicurus. (Cf. especially notes E, F, H, K, M, Q, R, S.)
2. O. D. III. 526.
3. D. IX. 514, Lucrèce, G; O. D. III. 396, 964.
4. D. IX. 515, Lucrèce, G. On Lucretius' devotion to Epicurus cf. O. D. IV. 541.

There is slight comment on Horace although he is quoted frequently. He is mentioned as les délices de la Cour d'Auguste, (1) and the obscenities (1) and flattery (2) in his poetry are referred to. He and Virgil are the two qui décrivent si bien le bonheur des Paysans. (3) The quotations from Horace are frequently accompanied by a favorable remark. (4) Catullus was one of the most gallant poets among the ancients, but the obscenities in some

1. O. D. I. 69. Cf. section X. page 165, of the present study.
3. D. VI. 51, Drusus —, 3: Bayle suggests that Horace was a flatterer like his fellow poets, but admits that in the passage which he quotes the praise is not extreme.
3. C. D. III. 370: But these poets would soon get tired of handling the plow, adds Bayle.
4. Cf. D. VIII. 523, Junon, B B: Il n'y a rien de plus vrai que ce que disait Horace . . .
D. VII. 385 Guise. (4), note (11): ce qu'Horace . . . dit si bien de la Fortune.
D. V. 177, Chrysippe (2), C: l'endroit est brillant.
D. IX. 482, Lucilius, K: Bayle approves Horace's judgment of Lucilius.
Cf. also: D. I. 374, Alcée, B: Horace is mentioned as Celui de tous les poètes latins, qui ressemble le mieux à Alcée . . .
O. D. IV. 541: A reference to Horace (mon grand Auteur Horace) as a man whose philosophical ideas shifted, who did not hold to one sect. It is suggested that a poet is not so responsible as other men for such shiftings.
D. IV. 140, Briséide, E: on a raisonnement bien piteux-able of Horace.
Cf. Gigas p. 12: mon cher Horace.
Cf. Gigas p. 49: a mention of Horace, Virgil and Terence.

of his verse are detestable. (1) Terence is mentioned as a Bel-Territ de l'Antiquité. (2)

Livy, and certain other historians of the earlier Latin period receive some attention. Livy is one of the great Latin chroniclers; (3) the History which he produced is very near perfection. (4) Bayle states in one place that Livy is blameworthy for paying so much attention to ridiculous prodigies. (4) Elsewhere, however, he is inclined to excuse him for narrating so many marvels. He had to yield to the popular taste for such stories, he performed a service in making known the ridiculous beliefs of the people, and he stated that he did not vouch for the prodigies recounted. (5) The Roman History of Paternulus

1. O. D. I. 69. D. IV. 593. Catulle. Some of his verse, however, is edifying: D. IV. 594, Catulle. Bayle quotes certain verses of Catullus as tout-à-fait piquans. D. X. 182 Mamurra, B.
2. O. D. II. 418. Terence is quoted. On Plautus cf. section IV. pages 42-4 of the present study.
3. O. D. I. L. 33. Cf. D. IV. 185, Brutus, F: le jugement et le grand sens de cet auteur. D. IV. 497, Cassius Longinus, R. It is too bad that the grave and majestic Livy failed to give an account of the incest of the vestal virgins.
Cf. O. D. I. 307, iii. Bayle commends the modesty of Livy, at the end of an article which reviews a book on the question of the patavinity of Livy.
4. O. D. III, 11, v.
5. O. D. III. 192-3.

is curious. (1) This historian is censurable for the way he flatters Tiberius. (2) Bayle refers to la subtilité de son esprit. (3) The history of Cornelius Nepos is recommended by Bayle to his younger brother. C'est un livre d'or; le stile en est incomparable, et du bel âge le la latinité et en peu de mots il vous apprend les principales aventures des heros de l'antiquité. (4) Sallust is a grand politique. (5) Several of his maxims, (6) and his account of Julius Caesar, (7) are commended.

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1. D. XI. 440, Paterculus. Bayle supports his statement by a quotation from La Mothe le Vayer. (note D.)
 2. D. XI. 440, Paterculus; Bayle supports his statement by a quotation from Juste Lipse (note E). Cf. D. VI. 50, Drusus, (3), B.
 3. D. XI. 441, Paterculus, B.
 4. O. D. I. L. 34. Nepos is praised for une antithèse assez jolie, D. V. 288, Conon (2), H; and blamed for certain contradictory statements, D. V. 289, Conon (2), K.
 5. O. D. II. 73.
 6. O. D. II. 73, 393. D. XII. 367, Putéanus, E.
 7. D. V. 21, César; cf. O. D. I. 305: Bayle suggests that the beaux esprits of his time would object to the archaisms found in Sallust. Cf. D. XII. 438, Raynaud, I: Sallust did a service to his language by la peine qu'il avait prise de rajeunir certains termes et d'empêcher que la langue des Romains ne les perdît tout-à-fait.

The Commentaries of Caesar have excellent qualities. On y trouve une grande netteté de style, et l'ouïe les beautés négligées qu'un génie aussi heureux que celui de Jules César pouvait répandre dans un ouvrage de cette nature, qu'il composait à la hâte et sans artifice. (1)

But the careless way in which he wrote is blameworthy and there are doubtless many fabrications in his account.

Should the Prince de Condé write a History of his campaigns he would have little success if he followed the careless manner of Caesar. No partisan of antiquity would deny that the memoirs of La Rochefoucauld are superior to those of Caesar. (1) Varro (Marcus) is the most learned of all the Romans. (2) His style is by no means polished, but it is at least clearer than that of Nigidius Figulus, another great savant, a contemporary of Varro. (3)

Among the later Latin writers the historians re-

1. D. V. 30, César, G. Apropos of the tradition that Caesar wrote on auguries Bayle says: Voilà qui est beau, qu'un si grand homme de bien que César, et un quasi petit esprit que lui, s'amusât à faire des livres sur des matières si superstitieuses! G. D. I. 340.
2. O. D. III. 700; cf. D. XI. 161, Nigidius Figulus, E: un homme dont l'érudition étoit incomparablement moins éclairée que la crédulité.
3. O. D. I. 481, xi.

ceive considerable attention, Suetonius especially. Suetonius is very commendable for the spirit of fairness and honesty which characterises his history. (1) It is evident that he feared no one and catered to no one, and that neither flattery nor satire prompted his observations. He described many vicious characters but not in a spiteful way, and he did not hesitate to give them credit when it was due. The completeness of his work, the vast number of details he has collected concerning the Emperors whom he describes, is admirable. (2) With this wealth of detail, Suetonius combines succinctness of narrative, which occasionally leads him, however, to the omission of points too important to be disregarded. (3) It is wrong to reproach

1. D. XIII. 550, Suétone, D. Bayle cites Politien, Lipsius, etc. in praise of Suetonius' fairness, etc. He goes on to blame those who welcome satire in history whether there is any just reason for the satire or not.

Cf. D. VI. 54, Drusus (4), I: il (Suetonius) ne s'est pas trop porté naturellement à justifier ses douze empereurs, ni à cacher leurs défauts.

2. D. XIII. 547, Suétone.
3. D. XI. 218, Octavie (2), E; cf. D. XV. 140-50, Dissert. Sur les Libelles diff. II, III; Bayle suggests that Suetonius' style is not always exact: D. XI. 214, Octavie, E.

him for the obscenities in his work. (1) The nature of his subject, the fact that he was dealing with the intimate personal life of the monarchs, brought many unsavoury details to his attention, and as an exact and scrupulous historian he had to report them. (2) The fact that he did so is no reflection on his moral character. And the recital of such atrocious happenings has its advantage: it may caution contemporary princes against living such a life that their names may some day be held up as examples of infamy. (3) Some find fault with the failure of Suetonius to observe a chronological order, but it is to be remembered that he followed an entirely different plan, and a very good one in some ways. He preferred to write of the personality and of the family life of the emperors, and preferred to put in one chapter what concerned their

1. D. XIII. 551-5, Suetone, E; cf. D. XI. 309, Ovide, E: C'était son génie de déterrer cette espèce d'anecdotes (on an incest in this case) et de les insérer hardiment dans son ouvrage.

2. It is unfair to cite Tacitus as free from such obscenities while Suetonius was not, for Tacitus had a different kind of subject. And as a matter of fact there are saletés in Tacitus too. D. XIII. 554, Suetone, E.

3. Bayle cites Erasmus and Politien on this, D. XIII. 553, Suetone, E.

marriage, in another what concerned their education, etc. The details gathered were as valuable as they were hard to obtain. It would be highly desirable for someone to produce a work of the same order, treating of modern times. (1)

Tacitus is a capital historian. His knowledge of political and court life was profound, and what he has to say on the subject is recognized as being universally true. (2) He excelled in the vivid depiction of intrigue and passion. (3) His style, however, is bad; it is very concise and so obscure that it is sometimes quite impossible to know what he means. (4) The history of Alexander

1. D. XIII. 551, Suétone, D.
2. O. D. I. 569. Approval of a remark que la science de la Cour est une chose nécessaire pour attraper les pensées de Tacite.
3. O. D. I. 570; cf. D. XIV. 7, Tacite: Bayle subscribes to an opinion in Anonymiana, (on Mélanges de Poésies, d'Eloquence, et d'Erudition, Paris, 1700), that Tacitus carried his analysis of secret motives too far, and saw political reasons back of the most simple and innocent actions, pages 10, 11, note E, Cf. D. XI. 220, Octavie (2), G.
4. O. D. I. 569; D. XIV. 7, Tacite, cf. notes E and I; D. VII. 287, Grotius (2), P; D. XIV. 13, Tacite, H: Notez . . . que sa manière d'écrire demandait beaucoup de temps; tout y sent la peine, la méditation, la lime, l'étude, le "festina lente"

by Quintus Curtius is belle et bien écrite. (1) But he recounts too many prodigies, (2) and Le Clerc is right in criticising him for inexactness, ignorance and other faults. (1) Bayle mentions Valerius Maximus to blame him for his inexactness, (3) and his flattery. (4)

On Tacitus cf. the following:

D. II. 463, Artaxata, D: Tacite avec tout son esprit. He is criticised here for recording a miracle. D. VI. 61, Drusus (5), E: cet incomparable écrivain; D. XIV. 110, Théopompe, F: Bayle censures as extreme and unjust a criticism of Tacitus for his digressions. O. D. I. 720 III: ce grand Historien; O. D. II. 294 vii: Un véritable Dévot, quelque talent qu'il ait d'ailleurs, ne s'occupera jamais à écrire selon l'esprit de Tacite. i. e. in a somewhat satirical spirit, which does not spare the weaknesses of one's fellows.

1. D. XII. 396, Quinte Curce. Bayle attacks the theory that Quintus Curtius is a modern author. Cf. C. D. I. 241, iii: he says, apropos of this: Il y a plus de quinze cens ans qu'on n'écrit point en Latin comme fait cet Historien.
2. Though Bayle gives him credit for trying to avoid credulousness as to such things, and supports his remark by a quotation from La Mothe le Vayer. D. XII. 399, Quinte Curce, B.
3. D. IV. 493, Cassius Viscellinus; D. VIII. 514, Junon, U.
4. D. VI. 51, Drusus (2), E.

Marcellinus occupies an honorable rank among those who have written the history of Rome. His style is not the best, but his fairness towards the Christians, his exactness and the fact that he was an eye-witness of some of the things he describes, make his work valuable. D. X. 216, Marcellin.

Justin is commendable for his style, O. D. I. L. 33, but there is much inexactness and there are many omissions in his work. He shows a lack of discernment in making his abridgments, O. D. I. L. 33; D. I. 147, Achille, G; D. II. 440, Arsinoé (2), G; D. V. 290, Conon (2), I. Cf. D. IV. 465, Capradocée, F.

Pliny the Elder is named ce grand Naturaliste. (1)

Of his work Bayle says: Son ouvrage n'est-il pas tout par-
sonné non-seulement de traits d'esprit, mais aussi de réflex-
ions judicieuses, et qui marquent une connoissance de ce qui
concerne les mœurs? (2) Pliny has recorded a multitude of
 prodigies in the Natural History, but this is excusable for
 he thereby furnished many proofs of the weakness of human
 intelligence. (3) His style is sometimes obscure. (4) Of
 Pliny the Younger there is slight mention. Bayle suggests
 that he was good at portraiture. (5) Quintilian is an ex-

1. O. D. IV. 528, iii. Bayle mentions the judgment of
 Pliny by Saumaise.

2. O. D. III. 396—7.

3. O. D. III. 193, iii.

4. O. D. I. 566, ix.

Bayle quotes Pliny a number of times. The passing
 comment is sometimes favorable (D. V. 28, César, P;
 O. D. III. 282, lxiv; etc.) sometimes not. (D. IX. 194,
 Leucade, A; O. D. III. 673; etc.) Cf. especially D.
 V. 467, Démocrite, I, where Bayle blames Pliny for lack
 of clearness in his expression, and D. VI. 374, Europe,
 C, where Bayle blames him for lack of clearness in his
 thought.

5. D. XII. 179, Plotine, C: Pline s'entendait merveilleuse-
ment en portraits . . .

Bayle quotes Pliny the Younger once to point out
 his kind heartedness (D. II. 351-2, Ariston (2). F.)

Cf. D. XV. 331, Eclair. sur les Obscenités. Cf Pliny:
C'était l'un des plus beaux esprits, et l'un des plus
honnêtes hommes de son siècle . . .

cellent author and should be read by all those who set out to write books. The Republic of Letters would have lost much, if his works had not been preserved. (1) Bayle commends several of the maxims of Marcus Aurelius. (2)

The later poets are given only brief mention. Persius was a grave-minded bard, whose satires are particularly severe. (3) His style is undoubtedly obscure; he twists words about and indulges in enigmatic allusions and figures. (4) Lucan is criticised for his florid style. (5) In speaking of Martial Bayle refers to the saletés qui ne sont que trop ordinaires à ce poète... (6) There is no general

1. D. XII. 401, Quintilien. Bayle commends especially two remarks by Quintilian: D. IV. 520, Cassius Severus, K; D. X. 178, Malherbe, G.
2. D. IX. 390, Louis VII, A; D. IX. 449, Louis XIII, F; C. D. II. 441.
3. D. XI. 649, Perse (2); O. D. III. 828; O. D. III. 260, liv: Le Poète Perse a tonné d'une grande force contre ce dérèglement . .
4. D. XI. 656, Perse (2), H; D. XI. 658 Perse (2), K.
5. O. D. III. 581: sa veine poétique, qui aimoit extrêmement la sublimité et le verbiage pompeux.
6. D. XIII. 279. Sylvius. Cf. O. D. I. 69.
Bayle quotes Martial with favorable comment: D. V. 532. Diogène L; D. VI. 491, Flora, B; cf. also O. D. III. 831.

criticism of Juvenal, but he is quoted frequently with favorable comment. (1)

Of the few individuals who attained prominence as men of letters between the Roman period and modern times there is hardly any mention in Bayle. Even of the church fathers, the only man upon whose literary merits he comments at all is St. Augustine, to whose fertile imagination he testifies. (2) St. Augustine was a man of powerful intellect and great eloquence. (3) None of the works of this father of the church are more pleasing, instructive and edifying, than his letters. (4) The style is varied and agreeable, and one receives a charming insight into the noble character of the writer. The profit to be had from reading these letters is even greater than the pleasure. There is much erudition in them, and the theology and ethics which they contain make them one of the best books of piety in the world, especially because there is revealed in them

1. D. VI. 265, Eschyle, G; D. VI. 418, Fausta, C; D. VI. 491, Flora, B; D. X. 8, Macédoine, D; D. XII. 282, Porcius, M; O. D. III. 93, cxlv. Cf. O. D. I. 69, a reference to the saletés in Juvenal.

2. D. I. 244, Agar, D.

3. O. D. II. 485.

4. O. D. I. 174.

the spirit which impels the saintly man. (1)

Bayle evidences little familiarity with the literature of his own country before the seventeenth century. Of the earliest monuments there is only a slight mention, here and there. He refers to the Roland legend, to object to the thousand romantic fables which are added to the stories of such heroes. (2) He names, in passing, the story of Ogier-le-Danois, (3) the legend of the Quatre Fils Aimon, (4) and the Roman de la Rose. (5) Joinville (6)

1. For another reference to St. Augustine cf. O. D. III. 272, lix: Bayle says he has given one of the best descriptions of human wretchedness.

Bayle does not sympathize at all with St. Augustine's ideas on religious tolerance, and accuses him of inconsistency, but grants that he was over zealous rather than insincere in this regard. O. D. II. 445, 485.

Chrysostom is mentioned as an excellent preacher, D. III. 5, Babylas, B: Bayle criticises him, in this case, for using a false brilliancy in his rhetoric — but adds that Chrysostom did not know that the basis for his remarks was unsound.

2. O. D. III. 67, xcix.

3. D. VII. 320, Guesclin.

4. D. VI. 269, Eschyle, O.

The Roland is mentioned here and in ref. in note 3, and it is suggested that all these stories are extravagant.

5. O. D. I. L. 84, lvi.

6. O. D. III. 760, cxxvii.

and Froissard¹ (1) are given little attention; Commines (2) is merely characterized as ce sage historien. There is no criticism of the other chroniclers; Monstrelet and Villehardouin (3) are briefly alluded to, Villon is quoted once. (4)

It is with the sixteenth century that Bayle begins to show some knowledge of the literary productions of France; there is comment on the writers of both prose and poetry.

Montaigne is admired, and called un moderne dont l'esprit sera admiré pendant qu'il y aura des connaisseurs. (5) Bayle is fond of quoting him. (6) No one would dare say

1. D. VI. 599-601, Froissard.

2. D. IV. 28, Bourgogne (5), K.

3. O. D. I. L. 84.

4. O. D. I. 656, Note A.

5. D. VI. 260, Ermite, I. Cf. O. D. III. 501: L'incomparable Michel de Montaigne . . .

6. D. IX. 369, Lorraine, K: des paroles de Montaigne . . . dignes de son bon goût.

D. XI. 374, Papesse, G: Montaigne avait là-dessus une pensée solide.

D. XIII. 568, Surena, A: Montaigne donne de très-belles observations.

O. D. III. 36, xlix: Ecouter-le (Montaigne) parler en son vieux Gaulois qui a souvent plus de grâces que les périodes les plus étudiées de nos puristes.
etc. etc.

that the Dictionary approaches the licence displayed in Montaigne's Essays, either in regard to scepticism or in regard to salées. (1) Bayle does not care for Rabelais but grants that excellent people enjoy him. (2) Brantôme offers the reader a variety of curious facts not ordinarily to be found in historical works, for his intimacy at court enabled him to get hold of many interesting details. The style is careless, but the manner of narrating

1. C. D. IV. 747. The Essays are published and republished, why attack the Dictionary?

The Essays are arranged with so little system that it is extremely hard to locate a passage that one may remember to have read somewhere in Montaigne's work. D. IV. 539, Castalion, K.

On the indebtedness of Charron to Montaigne, cf. D. V. 91, Charron, F: Il y a dans les livres de la sagesse une infinité de pensées qui avaient paru dans les Essais de Montaigne.

Cf. D. V. 102, Charron, O: Bayle says that the venom which might be found in the works of Charron, a theologian, would be much more reprehensible than that found in Montaigne, a layman.

2. O. D. IV. 750. Bayle claims to have cited Rabelais only once. The editor of the 1820 edition of the Dictionary says, D. XV. 256, foot-note, he is not sure there is even one citation. But the index of this same edition refers to one quotation: D. XIII. 523, Strozzi, A. Cf. Gigas, 37: l'ingénieux Rabelais.

is pleasant and Brantôme is well worth reading. (1)

Other authors receive brief and incidental mention. Etienne de la Boétie is one of those persons of great judgment and virtue who have defended the rights of the people. (2) Pierre Faouquier is learned and is an habile avocat. (3) Bayle speaks repeatedly of the celebrated Monsieur de Thou, (4) ce grand historien, (5) and criticises

1. O. D. I. L. 31.

For other remarks on Brantôme, cf: D. VI. 335, François I^{er} C: Brantôme, qui savait son monde autant qu'un autre et qui connaissait merveilleusement la cour.

D. XII. 184, Poitiers: S'il y a quelque chose dans les Mémoires de Brantôme, qui soit non-seulement faux, mais digne d'exécration, c'est la bienveillance qu'il a eue d'excuser la mémoire de cette duchesse, et d'applaudir aux complaisances excessives de Henri II. M. de Thou s'est bien gardé d'une si indigne flatterie. . . . (Of Diane de Poitiers.)

D. XIV. 313, Valérie, D: Bayle cites a passage of Plutarch and says: Il me semble que j'entends Brantôme nous conter les aventures de ces fameux galants, après leur avoir donné l'éloge de femmes et d'honnêtes dames.

O. D. III. 24, xxx: Bayle criticises a superstitious remark of Brantôme concerning the fate of those who have certain names.

2. D. XV. 141, Dissert. sur J. Brutus, XVIII. Bayle refers to Teissier for evidence of the excellent character of La Boétie.

3. D. X. 166. Maldonat (2), L. Bayle criticises a passage in Recherches de la France in this case.

4. O. D. III. 81, cxxvi. Here Bayle quotes de Thou with a reference to la beauté raisonnée de ses expressions.

5. D. III. 556, Bougere, H. Cf. D. III. 38, Bougere, V: nos plus célèbres historiens. (De Thou, Mézerai, Pérégrin, etc.)

various mistakes in his history. (1)

Among the poets Bayle devotes considerable attention to Clément Marot as the best poet of his time. On peut dire sans le flatter, non-seulement que la poésie française

1. Cf. D. XII. 475, Pasario, C: Ce grand historien attentif à d'autres choses plus essentielles à son ouvrage, n'examinait pas assez de qui concernait la vie des hommes doctes . . . D. IX. 350, Longvic, F; etc.

The Confession Catholique de Sancy, of D'Aubigné is une pièce docte et ingénieuse à la vérité, mais burlesque . . . D. IV. 21, Rotero, C. D'Aubigné is not free from inaccuracies, D. IV. 126, Dissert. sur le livre de Junius Brutus.

A sixteenth century foreigner who interests Bayle especially, is Erasmus, whom he considers one of the greatest men of the Republic of Letters. (a) The Encomium Moriae is admirable. (b) Bayle refers to the calumnies to which Erasmus was subjected for the way he condemned both Rome and Luther, and in this connection praises the morality and piety in his books. (c) The ideas of Erasmus concerning universal peace were visionary, but his zeal renders them pardonable. (d)

- a. D. VI. 213, Erasme. Cf. D. XII. 340, Rotterdam; O. D. I. 104, ii.
- b. O. D. II. 328.
- c. O. D. II. 697; cf. D. IX. 313, Loyola, D.
- d. O. D. III. 619; cf. D. VI. 239, Erasme, U; cf. D. VII. 53-5, Geldenhaur, F: Bayle suggests that Erasmus was a little visionary in his ideas on religious tolerance.

Cf. D. IV. 547, Castellan, E: Bayle reports the fact that Erasmus did not know Greek well, and adds: le peu de temps que ce grand homme employait à faire ses livres ne lui permettait pas d'éviter toutes les fautes; cf. O. D. I. 490: a slight censure of the Adages.

n'avait jamais paru avec les charmes et avec les beautés naturelles dont il l'orne, mais aussi que dans toute la suite du XVII^e. siècle il ne parut rien qui approchât de l'heureux génie, et des agremens naïfs, et du sel de ses ouvrages. Les poètes de la Fléiade sont de fer en comparaison de pelot-là, et si au siècle suivant, un Voiture, un Sarrazin, un Benserade, et quelques autres l'ont surpassé, ce n'est qu'à cause qu'ils ont trouvé tout fait, l'établissement d'un meilleur goût, et d'une plus grande délicatesse de leur langue. (1)

... On peut ajouter qu'il fut l'inventeur du mélange des rimes masculines et féminines, qui est une chose sans laquelle notre poésie serait très-rude et choquante. (2)

Obscenities abound in his poetry, and indeed his cleverest verses are especially censurable in this regard. Ce qu'il y a d'étrange, c'est que les talens de son esprit, son sel, le tour agréable,

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1. D. X. 313, Marot. Bayle refers in a foot note to a remark of La Bruyère which, he says, confirms this judgment. The quotation from La Bruyère praises Marot and censures Benserade; it contains no mention of Voiture, Sarrazin and Benserade, and nothing to suggest Bayle's observation concerning these. (La Bruyère, Caractères, des Ouvrages de l'Esprit, nos. 41, 42 -- éd. Hachette 1865, by Servois).
 2. D. X. 313, Marot, (1) Bayle refers here to Observations de M. Ménage sur les poésies de Malherbe.

vif, aisé, ingénieux de sa muse ne se font jamais sentir
avec plus de distinction, que lorsqu'il traite un sujet sale.
N'est ce pas une chose étrange, que la plupart des poètes
aient le malheureux don de réussir de ce côté-là mieux que
sur d'autres sujets? (1) Bayle goes on to deplore this
 unfortunate characteristic of poetry. (2) He speaks of
 Marot's translation of the Psalms in the Critique Générale
de l'Histoire du Calvinisme. (3) He defends Marot against
 Wainbourg, assuming a distinctly partisan attitude. He
 denies the charge that the style of this translation is bur-
 lesque; at least from the sixteenth century point of view,
 the style was serious. If there seems, to the seventeenth
 century, something burlesque, it is because the latter age

1. D. X. 321, Marot, M.

2. Cf. section III, page 32, note 2, of the present study.

3. O. D. II. 61-3. Bayle goes on to attack the style of
 the Catholic books of devotion and their music. Evi-
 dently he does not insist that the Psalms shall be
 kept in the form in which Marot put them, for he says:
Dieu merci, notre Caractère n'est pas de s'attacher
superstitieusement aux vieilles choses, il est à
croire que peu à peu, on substituera la version des
Pseaumes, revue et changée par M. Courart, à celle
dont nous nous servons encore. By nous Bayle means
 the Protestants. Cf. O. D. I. L. 56. xxxii.

has come to make a special use of these older turns of expression in its burlesque writings.

The Dictionary has an article on Ronsard but it contains no original criticism of any weight. (1) It is absurd to say, as a biographer of Ronsard has done, that the birth of the poet on the same day that Francis I. was captured at Pavia compensated France for the misfortune of her monarch. What nonsense to maintain that such a terrible loss was balanced by the acquisition of a bel esprit who turned out a few thousand verses. (2) The mercenary spirit that prompted some of Ronsard's poetry does not reflect credit on him. (3) Bayle echoes the opinions of La Bruyère and of the Pamasse Réformé as to the obscurity of Ronsard's verses, and the opinion of Sorcel as to the impieties introduced. (4)

1. D. XII. 566-83, Ronsard.

2. D. XII. 568, Ronsard, B.

3. Bayle cites Binet (Life of Ronsard) as his authority for the fact that the poet was mercenary. Cf. D. XII. 575-6, Ronsard I, K.

4. Cf. D. XII. 577, 8, Ronsard M, O.

Cf. D. XIII. 235, Seymour, A: Ronsard mérite d'être entendu là-dessous, puisque ses phrases se sentent de la barbarie où la langue française était encore.

Of the three great dramatists of the seventeenth century Molière especially attracts Bayle's attention. There is an article in the Dictionary where the life and characteristics of the comedian are treated at some length. The bits of criticism found in this article, and passing remarks in other places, enlighten us as to Bayle's estimate.

He testifies to great admiration for Molière and states that hardly any one has ever equalled him in genius for the comic. (1) The greatest of the ancients,

The other members of the Pleiad are hardly mentioned. There is an article on Daurat in the Dictionary, but virtually no criticism which indicates that Bayle was familiar with his poetry. D. V. 418-28, Daurat.

There is an interesting criticism of Pontus de Tyard. This poet, in speaking of Phasis, who found his mother in flagrant délit and killed her, gives the young man the title of "chaste". He had no right to do this, says Bayle. There was authority for the story of Phasis killing his mother, but no historical authority which mentions the fact that Phasis was chaste - and the poet must not add to the original in that way. Merely the fact that Phasis killed his mother under such conditions is not positive proof of his moral excellence; nearly any man would have acted as he did. Evidently Bayle has no sympathy with poetic license in this case. D. XII. 7, Phasis, A.

1. O. D. I. L. 22. Bayle praises les Femmes savantes, cf. O. D. I. L. 15, and Psyché, part of which, he explains, is due to Molière. He does not know which of these pieces has pleased him most. Cf. O. X. 478, Molsa, D. Cf. Gigas, 72: Molière en particulier avoit la raillerie si forte, que c'étoit comme un coup de foudre d'effet: quand un homme en avoit été frappé, on n'osoit plus s'approcher de luy, et on le fuyoit "tanquam de celo tactum et fulguritum hominem." . . . Tout cela est arrivé à l'Abbé Jotir. . . .

even, do not measure up to him. Bayle draws a comparison between Molière and the Greek and Roman comedians, and indicates his preference for his contemporary. (1) He explains that care must be exercised in making such a comparison: there are two kinds of raillery, one that is common to all times and people, another that fits only particular ages and nations. In the latter case a just comparison between an ancient and a modern is difficult. A play of Aristophanes contained many local hits which only the contemporary Athenians could appreciate, and the failure of a modern to grasp these points does not reflect any discredit on the Greek. But comparison in the other case is quite possible, and the moderns are perfectly capable of appreciating the work of the ancients where their literature has a universal character. And, in that part of Comedy which all ages can enjoy, because it is typical of all ages,

1. D. XII. 255, 6, Poquelin, B. Cf. D. I. 552, Amphitryon, B. Cf. section X. page 137 of the present study. Cf. Bayle's remarks on the quarrel of ancients and moderns: Cette dispute a fait naître de part et d'autre plusieurs ouvrages où l'on peut apprendre de très-bonnes choses. (255)

Molière is superior to Plautus, Terence and Aristophanes. (1)

Boileau's censure of Molière for paying too much attention to the demands of the pit, is, to a certain extent, just. (2) Molière would probably have produced comedies of a much higher degree of excellence if he had followed the precepts laid down by the select few who are experts in such matters. (3) But on the other hand, if he had been guided only by the taste of these beaux esprits, he would have played to an empty house; the actors would have

1. Cf. E. VI. 314, Euclide, A: Bayle refers to the incident of the dancing master, the music master, the teacher of philosophy, etc, in the Bourgeois Gentilhomme and says: Je ne sais-jamais Aristophane et Lucien raillèrent plus cruellement les philosophes, que Molière les joua en cet endroit.

Cf. C. D. I. L. 39, Of the Malade Imaginaire by the incomparable Molière: On ne peut pas jouer plus cruellement les médecins qu'il l'a fait dans cette pièce. L'Antiquité n'a rien qui surpasse le génie de Molière dans le Comique, ne vous en déplaise, Aristophane, Plaute et TERENCE. Aussi depuis sa mort ne voyons-nous aucune Comédie qui vaille la peine d'être lûe. Haute-Foche Comédien de l'Hôtel de Bourgoigne, en fait quantité, mais c'est un Auteur de balade en comparaison de l'autre.

Cf. C. D. I. 302, viii: la Scène de Cleanthe, qui est si bonne dans le Malade Imaginaire.

2. D. XII. 262-3, Poquelin, G. Bayle says it is unjust to accuse Boileau of having praised Molière in his lifetime for fear that if he censured him Molière would have hit back by turning him to ridicule in a comedy. If Boileau had written the Art Poétique during the life of Molière he would have introduced his censure just as readily as he did after the poet's death. Cf. Sigas, 70-71.
3. Cf. C. D. III. 203, x. Molière deserves more credit for the Misanthrope than for the Bourgeois Gentilhomme, as keen critics could point out, but the latter piece pleased the people more.

been bankrupt and the people deprived of very real entertainment. (1) Another current criticism is also only partially justified. Molière is, without doubt, blameworthy for his extremely free use of new words and expressions, but a certain amount of indulgence in this kind of invention is excusable and is even desirable. (2) A good writer is undoubtedly justified in coining new words, for in that way he adds to the vividness and richness of a language. And comedy is especially suited to the propagation of these words; there is no better means of spreading them far and wide. Bayle says that Molière was often guilty of barbarisms and cites specific instances. (3)

1. Bayle adds a paragraph in which he defends the imperfections of his Dictionary on this same basis of the need of pleasing the people at large.
2. D. XII. 360-1. Poquelin, D. Bayle goes on to say that a philosopher has more need than a comedian to invent words, on account of the exigencies of philosophical subjects. He quotes Arnauld and others on this point. But he concludes that Molière too had a real need for new words and was justified in inventing them. Cf. Bayle's final comments p. 361: Notes enfin que la naissance d'un mot est pour l'ordinaire la mort d'un autre. Cela est vrai principalement en France, et ainsi l'on ne peut pas espérer que notre langue cesse jamais d'être disetteuse.
3. D. XII. 361, Poquelin, F.
Molière composed with extreme facility and this is evident in his verse. The same fact is true of Cvid. D. VII. 310, Guarini. (2), G.

Corneille and Racine occupy a small part of Bayle's attention; of the latter there is only a bare mention. An éloge of Corneille is printed in the Nouvelles and Bayle says that the writer, though praising Corneille highly, does so with reason. (1) He himself adds no further comment. The quarrel over the Cid was awkward for Corneille, since the writings of Soudéry and of the Academy revealed to the public many faults they could not have picked out for themselves. (2) Racine is a très-excellent faiseur de Tragedies. (3) Bayle mentions the Préface to Innigénie to say: Cette préface a des grandes beautés, quoique courte, et la Pièce elle-même est des plus achevées. (3)

1. O. D. I. 211. In this Eloge Cinna and Edogune are named the two best pieces of Corneille.

2. O. D. IV. 530.

This remark is in a long letter, O. D. IV. 528-37, which Bayle wrote concerning the quarrel of Costar and Girac. Bayle holds that Costar was in the wrong, in taking offense at Girac's remarks on Voiture, and that he, Costar, engaged in the fight because he was looking for a chance to display his own talents. Concerning various points in the dispute, both men are censured, but especially Girac. Cf. O. D. I. 714, (referred to in section XII, page 301 of the present study); cf. O. D. II. 110, xi. Le peuple a des caprices bien enracinez, etc., of their taste for the Cid.

3. O. D. I. L. 49.

The poets of the successive periods of the seventeenth century receive some comment. There is an article on Malherbe in the Dictionary, but it contains little or no criticism. (1) Malherbe was one of the great masters who did much to form the taste of the nation in literary matters. (2) He hardly ever bestowed praise on others, (1) but he was quite ready to commend himself. (3) Boileau is mentioned as ce grand poète, (4) ce fameux satyrique. (5) The Dictator is quoted sometimes with a

1. D. X. 170-9, Malherbe. Bayle speaks of the religion of the poet, the slowness with which he composed, etc. He depends especially on Racan's Vie de Malherbe for his material. He dwells on the Amours of Malherbe. On this last point, cf. O. D. II. 290; cf. O. D. II. 307: Apropos of how poets write verses of mistresses who are very cold and reticent, but in their everyday style grant that the ladies are by no means so forbidding. This is in the letter which Bayle attributes to M. Crisante. Cf. D. X. 173, Malherbe, B: Malherbe is an example of poets who write about imaginary mistresses.
2. D. IX. 293, Loges, D.
Cf. O. D. II. 318: Rien ne m'a tant plu dans les maximes de Malherbe que le grand mépris qu'il avoit pour tous les hommes en général. This is in the letter by "M. Crisante."
3. D. X. 178-9, Malherbe, H; cf. O. D. II. 191, iv.
4. D. II. 418, Arnauld (4), T.
The freedom with which Bayle bestows the title of great poet is evident from the fact that he labels the obscure Pierre Francis one of the first poets of Europe O. D. I. L. 140, xciii; cf. O. D. I. L. 145.
5. O. D. IV. 570, xxx.

favorable word, (1) but there is no real judgment of his standing as a man of letters. (2) The Satires are praised, (3) especially the tenth one Contre les Femmes. (4) Bayle reports in the Nouvelles the reception of Boileau into the Academy, and the discourse pronounced by the poet, (5) mentioning, in rather stereotyped terms, the distinguished merit of Boileau and the excellence of his remarks on this occasion. It is suggested that Boileau and Racine, as historiographers of Louis XIV, will avoid the excessive praise-giving which sometimes poisons history. (6) But Boileau, as well as his

1. D. III. 448, Bion (2), F; D. III. 98, Barbe, E. (although in this case Bayle also censures Boileau as well as other poets, for certain comparisons); cf. D. VI. 356, Euripide, G; O. D. II. 198.
2. As to Boileau's relations with Molière, cf. above, page 214, note 2.
3. O. D. I. 69; cf. D. V. 392, Dassouci, C: Posterity will need a careful commentary in order to appreciate the fine points of the Satires.
4. D. III. 97, Barbe, A: une satire du sexe, le chef d'œuvre ce me semble, de M. Despréaux. In this case, however, Bayle censures Boileau for accusing women of Atheism, and adds, for his part, that he does not think women have brains enough to be in danger of atheism.
5. O. D. I. 97-8.
6. O. D. III. 64-6.

fellows, has fallen into false prophesy in predicting the conquest of the Grand Turk by the French king. (1)

La Fontaine is inimitable. (2) His productions are marvellous for esprit, simplicity and grace. Of an edition of the later writings of La Fontaine our author says: Ce sont toujours des Contes divertissans, des Fables ingénieuses, en un mot ce sont des Vers qui sous une simplicité et une facilité apparente, cachent le plus fin et le plus heureux artifice qui se puisse voir. La morale y est repandue bien à propos, avec des traits fort piquans, contre les mauvaises coutumes du siècle. (3) As far as morals go, however, it is often true that the verse of La Fontaine cannot be defended. (4) Yet the Contes belong among those writings where the obscenities come, not from utter villainy on the part of the poet, but from a desire

1. O. D. III. 18.

Bayle testifies to his great pleasure at having the Dictionary approved by Boileau. O. D. IV. 772.

2. D. VI. 283, Esopé (2), G.

3. O. D. I. 374, viii. Bayle also praises here the Epître Dédicatoire of the volume, written by La Fontaine, his Eloge of Mme. de la Sablière, and his remarks on the Dialogues of Plato.

4. D. VII. 324-5, Guarini, C, B; O. D. I. 374, v; O. D. I. L. 42, xxiii; O. D. IV. 754, xxxiii.

to entertain. (1)

Other poets are briefly alluded to. Voiture is praised for the ingenuity of his satirical verses written against Neufgermain. (2) This polished gentleman is distinguished for his esprit. (3) Racan is le bon et fidèle disciple de Valherbe. (4) Cotin is a man whose reputation has been entirely destroyed by the satires launched against him. His attempt to be a gallant and a preacher at the same time is censurable. (5) Quinault is the man who gained

1. D. XV. 325-6, Eclair. sur les Obscénités, cf. ditto, 327.

For commendation of La Fontaine's poetry cf. O. D. I. 273-4; O. D. IV. 807. Cf. also O. D. I. L. 22: the Psyché of La Fontaine is also praised.

Bayle refers several times to certain anecdotes as being of the kind that would offer material for a beau conte by La Fontaine. D. VI. 383, Fabricius (2), A; D. VI. 106, Eginhart, B; D. IX. 10 Lacyde, F. Cf. D. VI. 281, Esop (2), D: M. de la Fontaine, l'homme de France qui réussissait le mieux à tourner un conte.

Bayle criticises La Fontaine on certain questions of fact, apropos of the use which the poet made of a biography of Aesop, and apropos of his narration of an anecdote concerning Socrates. D. VI. 278-9, Esop (2), B; ditto 280, -1, D.

2. D. XI. 134, Neufgermain.

3. Cf. D. XV. 368, Eclair. sur les Obscénités, B; O. D. II. 291, xviii.

Cf. D. VII. 308, Guarini. (2), G: a reference to the difficulty and the slowness with which Voiture composed; cf. D. XIV. 139, Thomas, G: Bayle grants that the compositions of Voiture, Sarazin and such beaux esprits are excellent of their kind, but claims that an ecclesiastic like Costar had no business to take a hand in such writings.

4. D. XIV. 221, Tirésias, F.

5. O. D. III. 551-3; cf. O. D. III. 253, xlxviii.

such a reputation by his opera verses. (1) The Pédant Joué of Cyrano de Bergerac^c is admirable. (2) Of Benserade Bayle says that a discourse of his before the Academy, in which he presented the portrait en raccourci^c of the forty gentlemen, was characterised by de tout fin et inimitable dont il s'est servi tant de fois pour faire des Vers de Balets, personnellement propres aux Dames et aux Seigneurs de la Cour qui devoient paraître dans les Entrées. (3)

The prose writers of the seventeenth century interest Bayle much more than the poets. At least he speaks of them more at length, as if they more readily attracted and held his attention. There is some comment on the beaux esprits of the age, those who are perhaps less serious and more polished, and there are many remarks on the graver authors, those concerned with scholarship, pulpit oratory, and the like.

Balzac is one of the most eloquent writers of the time. (4) It is true that there are imperfections in his style, that it is not natural, and that his letters lack

1. O. D. I. L. 59.

2. O. D. I. L. 15. Régnier is also mentioned here.

3. O. D. I. 202, iii, there is an article on Benserade in the Dictionary, (D. III. 314-34) but no criticism worth noting.

4. D. III. 63, Balzac.

the grace and ease which characterize those of Voiture. (1)
 Yet these letters have a certain melancholy charm that is
 all their own. (2) It is not surprising that they show
 evidence of the laborious efforts of the author, for the
 dignity and elevation of such writing is not attained with-
 out care. (3) The erudition in the letters is commendable.
 Balzac has attained a considerable success in directing the
 French language towards pureness of style. (4) As a writer
 of Latin, he did well both in poetry and prose. Bayle says
 Balzac's vanity leads him sometimes to omit the name of the
 author whom he is citing. (5) The author may be well known,
 but he thinks, perhaps, that if he simply says, j'ai lu quel-
 quepart, he may be given credit for having drawn the remark
 from a source little known to men of ordinary erudition. Bal-

1. D. III. 67, Balzac. (2).

2. Bayle echoes here a statement of Richalet, (D. III. 73, Balzac, (2), H.)

3. On the gravity of Balzac's style cf. D. X. 503. Mont-
 maur. Bayle suggests that Balzac had considerable dif-
 ficulty when he tried, on one occasion, to write in
 a jesting satirical vein. The product of this attempt,
 the Barbon, gives indications of the efforts exerted.
 D. X. 510, Montmaur, I, yet it is an excellent piece,
 O. D. I. L. 15.

On the extreme difficulty and slowness with which
 Balzac wrote, cf. D. X. 177, Malherbe, G; D. VII. 310,
 Guarini (4), G.

4. Cf. D. IX. 293, Loges, F.

5. Cf. D. III. 574, Borée, G; D. VII. 135, Gontaut (2), I.

zac is sometimes guilty of hyperboles extrêmement froides, (1).
saillies de vanité, (2) propositions un peu obscures, (3)

La Bruyère produced an admirable piece of work in the Caractères. Bayle points out the extreme popularity of this book, says it is valuable for training the taste and esprit of young readers, and suggests that the author drew his portraits from life and that some readers can recognize the originals. (4) The discourse pronounced by La Bruyère, when received into the Academy, is excellent. The style is not entirely regular, perhaps, but some of the thoughts are

1. Cf. D. VII. 390, Suisse (5), V.

2. Cf. O. D. II. 190.

3. D. III. 67, Balzac (6). Bayle thinks likely that posterity will justify Balzac against the various criticisms of his productions by contemporary critics.

Balzac is cited frequently; the slight comment offered apropos of this or that detail is sometimes favorable, (a) sometimes not. (b)

a. D. V. 489, Des-Parreaux, F; D. VII. 179, Gaulle (3), A; D. IX. 231, Lycurgue, H; D. XI. 303, Ovide, H; D. XIII. 524, Strozzi, B; D. XIV. 143, Thomas, N; D. XV. 290. Eclair. sur les Manichéens; O. D. II. 379, Avis au Lecteur.

b. D. III. 575, Borée, E; D. V. 527, Diogène, E; D. VI. 122, Elisabeth; D. VI. 132, Elisabeth, A; O. D. III. 252, xlv.

4. O. D. I. L. 179, cxxxv, 182, cxxxviii.

noteworthy. (1) Bayle's judgment of La Rochefoucauld, the mate of La Bruyère, to speak, is interesting. The reflections of La Rochefoucauld are subtle, keen and morally right. But the effect of them is far from moral; they may make a reader skillful in judging the weakness of his fellows, but they take all spirit of charity out of him, and incline him à interpréter tout en mal. (2)

Mlle. de Scudéry is recognized as the novelist who eliminated from fiction heroines who were too forward and immodest, and heroes who were too reticent and cold. (3) Bayle devotes two short reviews in the Nouvelles to La Morale Du Monde. (4) He commends the polish, the discern-

1. De Budé, Lettres à Turretini, Vol. I. p. 234.

La Bruyère is named with Mme. Deshoulières and l'abbé de Villiers under the title of quelques beaux esprits de Paris. D. VII. 181, Soult (7), n. and foot note (23)

La Bruyère is cited with an approving word, D. IX. 323, Lybourg, G; O. D. III. 253, xlxviii.

2. O. D. II. 294, vii.

On La Rochefoucauld cf. D. IX. 468, Louis XIII. A A: un grand seigneur. . . dont l'esprit n'avait pas moins de distinction que la naissance; cf. O. D. I. 569.

3. D. IX. 356, Longue, C. For a somewhat different estimate of Mlle. de Scudéry cf. section II. page 16 of the present study.

4. O. D. I. 149, 50; 608-9. Note the remark in this second article, on Mlle. de Scudéry's flattery of the king.

ment and the moral excellence of the remarks which Mlle. de Scudéry offers on the various subjects treated in the conversations that make up this book. These subjects, Tyranny, Avarice, Anger, Slander and the like, are well chosen and well worth consideration. Certain persons who are hard to suit might complain that the writer does not deal severely enough with the weaknesses of humanity. Yet she is by no means lenient and it is certain that she does not spare the faults of her own sex -- indeed she describes them with more accuracy than a man could. The modesty of Mlle. de Scudéry is most praiseworthy; she allowed the Cyrus and the Clélie to appear under the name of her brother without seeking the credit for herself, a thing uncommon even when the glory goes to another member of one's family. (1) The sagesse of the lady is also remarkable, in view of the free play she allowed her imagination on the subject of love. (2)

1. O. D. I. 149.

2. O. D. I. 150. And here is an excellent proof against those who hold that study does not fortify woman against passion.

For slight comments in approval of the romans of Mlle. de Scudéry cf. O. D. I. 171; O. D. I. L. 15; O. D. IV. 542-3. (Continued on next page.)

Bussy-Rabutin, Fénelon, Scarron and Patin are given some little notice. Bayle speaks of the Histoire d'Aureusse des Gaules and dwells especially on Bussy's statement that his account was not historical. (1) He mentions Bussy's History of Louis XIV. and says that the work was written with great carelessness. He praises the Memoirs, the Correspondence and the Traité sur l'Usage de l'Université. He is inclined to excuse Bussy for the impatience which he showed in exile. (2) The portrait which Bussy draws of Turenne is excellent; in giving a just appreciation of this general he was greatly helped by his own knowledge of the art of war. (3) Of Fénelon

Bayle praises certain other women writers of his age. Mme. Deshoulières is l'un des plus sçabdes et des plus brillans esprits du XVIII^e siècle, D. XI. 503, Ovide, V; cf. D. VII. 173, Platin, A; O. D. IV. 580, xxxvi. Mme de Sévigné deserves a place among the illustrious women of her time: O. D. IV. 776. Several references indicate Bayle's esteem for Mlle. des Jardins: D. VII. 95, Gleichen, C; O. D. I. 157, viii; O. D. I. 405, 1; O. D. I. L. 15.

1. D. XV. 160-2, Dissert. sur Libelles Diff. X., XI.
2. D. XV. 184-3, " " " " , F.
3. O. D. III. 550. Cf. D. VII. 559, Pérolles: Cf. Bayle's praise of certain Latin letters Bayle says: S'il se fût aussi bien connu en style latin qu'en style français, il n'eût pas donné cet éloge à la lettre d'Héloïse.

Bayle does not seem to have an intimate knowledge. He regrets the fact that he has not been able to read Télémaque nor any of the criticisms of the book. (1) He refers once to the fameux Scarron dont la plume étoit si terrible. (2) Qui Patin is mentioned in a general way as a man of intelligence and learning. (3) His Letters are admirable. They were composed lightly and were not meant for publication, but they have a charm which they might have lacked if the author had written with more care. (4)

1. C. D. IV. 315. Cf. C. D. IV. 789, xxxix: Bayle gives an account of the opinion which is generally held of the Télémaque. On fait grand cas de cet Œuvre. On trouve que le Stile en est vif, heureux, beau; le tour des Fictions bien imaginé, etc: mais sans doute, ce qui a le plus contribué au grand succès de la Pièce est que l'Auteur y parle selon le goût des Peuples, et principalement des Peuples qui, comme la France, ont le plus senti les mauvaises suites de la Puissance arbitraire, qu'il a touchées et bien exposées. Bayle states here too that he has not read the book.
2. C. D. III. 529.
3. C. D. XI. 444, Patin.
4. D. XI. 448, Patin, B: Il n'eût pas débité des choses mal examinées, et selon qu'elles s'offraient à son imagination: en un mot, nous trouverions même de fautes dans son ouvrage; mais aussi nous n'y verrions pas au naturel son esprit et son génie; nous n'y rencontrerions pas tant de faits curieux, ni tant de traits vifs et hardis, qui divertissent, et qui font faire de solides réflexions.

(Continued on next page.)

Pellissier is one of the most brilliant men of his day. (1) Bayle states in a letter, apropos of the historians of Louis XIV., that Pellissier is one from whom he had expected an excellent piece of work. (2) His esprit, his good style, and his History of the Academy, seemed to justify such expectations. But Bayle goes on to say that, from a letter of Pellissier's which he has read, he is afraid this new history will give too clear evidence of the religious bigotry of the writer and of his activity in converting the Huguenots. (3) The Preface, written by Pellissier, for the works of Sarasin, is a masterpiece. (4) Evidently our author

Cf. O. D. I. 23-5: A notice on an edition of Patin's Letters. Bayle dwells here on the fact that the Letters are written naturally, and reveal the man himself, with an openness that is unusual among authors. Cf. section I. page 9 of the present study. The reader is cautioned that all the bons mots and contes in the Letters are not to be believed, for Patin put them down as carelessly and freely as he would have recounted them in a conversation. Patin was of an humour méliant. On this last point cf. D. IX. 384, Lotichius, A; D. X. 122, Mayerne, A; D. XII. 433, Raynaud, H.

1. D. XI. 524, Pellissier. Cf. D. VII. 300, Guarini (2), 2.
2. O. D. III. 65.
3. Bayle gives no other opinions on this History. Apparently he never became more familiar with it.
4. D. XI. 525, Pellissier. Cf. O. D. I. 506, i.

admires Pellisson's poetry, for he praises the skill of certain Pieces d'un tour extrêmement délicat sur la favorite de Madam. de Gouderi. (1)

Desmarets has attained a certain success in attacking the Greek and Roman poets and in maintaining that the moderns are their equals. His criticism of Boileau has not done any great harm to that gentleman. (2) His Irène is a novel in which the heroines are by no means endowed with superhuman virtue, and Desmarets is censurable on this score. (3) Just is one of the most learned men in France. (4) The Demonstratio Evangelica is a work

1. O. D. I. 349, iv. Cf. the reference here to Pellisson as ce génie tout-à-fait original. Cf. D. V. 35, César, K: A criticism of the sense of certain verses of Pellisson which are quoted.
2. O. D. I. L. 60, xxxv. Bayle mentions his belle Comédie des Visionnaires and son Clovis qui coupe l'herbe sous les pieds à un illustre Poète, et plus illustre encore Théologien de votre connoissance. Bayle is writing to his older brother.
3. O. D. II. 323. Cf. D. X. Marests, D: Il (Desmarets) aurait tort de se défendre contre le Parnasse réformé, en disant qu'il a suivi le précepte des anciens maîtres, que les romans doivent être vraisemblables: car il y a un milieu entre une héroïne qui n'est pas assez vertueuse, et une héroïne qui l'est trop: et ce milieu n'excède pas le vraisemblable.
The article on Desmarets in the Dictionary offers no criticism of any account. D. X. 236-43, Marests.
4. O. D. I. L. 53.

which shows the learning, the intelligence and the excellent Latin style of the author; but he makes use of certain proofs that are by no means convincing, and his facts are not always reliable. (1) Fontenelle is highly praised. The Entretiens sur la pluralité des Mondes is an unusual book. C'est un résultat de mille pensées diverses, où l'on trouve des plaisanteries galantes, des railleries fines, des moralitez profondes et enjouées, un essor d'imagination aussi vaste, et aussi libre qu'on en puisse voir, une grande vivacité; tout cela soutenu d'un fond de Physique et d'Astronomie qui débrouille bien les choses dans le système de M. Descartes. (2) Bayle mentions the great success of the Dialogues des Morts, and he reviews the Histoire des Oracles in the Nouvelles. (3) The notice which he gives of this last is most commendatory. He also refers to the naturalness of style and the brilliancy which characterize the Lettres diverses de M. le Chevalier d'Her. (4) Several works by

1. O. D. I. L. 116.

2. O. D. I. 547.

3. O. D. I. 749-53, iv.

4. O. D. I. 720, iv.

Cf. O. D. I. 477, x. A short éloge of Fontenelle; O. D. III. 252, xlviii: a word of praise for a passage in l'Histoire des Oracles.

Anselot de la Foussaye are reviewed in the Nouvelles and praised. (1)

Of the historians, Varillas and Mézerai are briefly commented on. In the case of Varillas Bayle's criticisms are at first favorable, and then decidedly the reverse. In a letter dated March 7, 1695, he refers to his eagerness to see Varillas' histoire de François I. (2) He reviews this history, as well as others of Varillas, in the Nouvelles, and his general tone is most approving. (3) The impartiality of the author, his ability to get at the causes and motives back of historical events, and his accuracy are praised. But the Dictionary abounds in references to Varillas, pointing out his mistakes. (4) And in a letter dated April 14, 1695, Bayle writes: Plus je consulte Varillas, plus je trouve qu'il a gâté l'histoire pu...

1. O. D. I. 97, vii; O. F. I. 408, vi; O. D. I. 569, i. Cf. O. D. I. 438, viii.

2. O. D. IV. 558, xix. Here Bayle refers to the work as Vie de François I., cf. note 11.

3. O. D. I. 114, viii, 167 vi, 277, i, 461, i.

4. D. IX. 241, Ligarius, A; D. X. 393, Mélancton, N; D. XII. 203, Politien, D; D. XI. 634, Pérot, D; O. D. III, 906.

lieu de l'illustrer. (1) Mézerai is one of the best French historians, (2) and his impartiality is commendable. (3) Yet in regard to this man, too, Bayle's attitude changes, for he states on another occasion that the mistakes found in the work of Mézerai make one wonder sometimes why he is so esteemed. (4)

Among those men of letters whose chief interest is in things learned, Ménage receives especial mention. He is one of the great savants of the seventeenth century, the Varro of his age. (5) Bayle praises his esprit and his poetic vein, as well as his learning. He speaks in the highest terms of the keen wit and the wonderful memory of the man, as they are reflected in the Ménagiana. It is remark-

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1. O. D. IV. 715. Cf. O. D. I. 673-4, ix. Bayle reviews a book which criticises Varillas and he comments on the revulsion of feeling which has taken place in regard to this author, on the severe censure which has followed the highest praise. Evidently Bayle is not the only one to have acted in this manner.
 2. D. VII. 126, Gontaut, F; D. XIV. 127, Thibaut, B; cf. O. D. II, 41.
 3. O. D. II. 12; D. VIII, 18, Henri II, H; cf. D. XI. 642, Perrot (2), G: Varillas is also named here and accused of partiality.
 4. D. XI. 47, Navarre, H.
 5. D. X. 398, Ménage. Cf. O. D. III. 145, ccxxxix.

able that a man of such erudition should at the same time be so brilliant a conversationalist; the two qualities are rarely found together. (1) Joseph Scaliger is le plus grand critique de son siècle, (2) but the violence he displayed against his associates is detestable. (3) The Saligeriana contains many excellent things, although the book bears evidence of the fact that it is a collection of remarks made offhand and never meant to be published. (4) In speaking of Furetière, it is to his work as a scholar

1. D. X. 398-404, Ménage, A. B. C. If there are faults in the Menagiana it is to be remembered that this collection represents the impromptu remarks of the savant, not anything prepared with care: ditto 400, A.

On Ménage cf. D. V. 507, Montmaur, G: of his satire against Montmaur: Je ne crois pas que M. Ménage ait jamais rien fait où l'érudition, l'esprit, et la politesse de langage, aient mieux paru ensemble. For a word in approval of Ménage, cf. O. II. 307, Arétin. (6), M; O. D. I. L. 15.

2. D. IV. 514, Cassius Sévère, A.
3. O. D. II. 203-4.
4. O. D. I. L. 7, 8.

Scaliger, père, was a man of great brains, (D. XII. 237, Ponponace, F.) and of reprehensible violence (D. IV. 449, Gardan, X.) Cf. O. D. II. 327: Scaliger humble comme un enfant eût fait honneur au genre humain; mais Scaliger orgueilleux le déshonorait, parce qu'il témoignait par son orgueil qu'il étoit un petit Génie, un esprit de trois doigts . . . Bayle doesn't indicate which Scaliger he means.

that Bayle pays the most attention, and he extols the Dictionary. (1)

Various ecclesiastics who took a hand in literary matters are referred to occasionally. The Entretiens of Bouhours are written with a remarkable polish; the one on languages is the best, and is distinguished by erudition, keen comparisons and ingenious quotations. (2) Bayle is inclined to censure him, however, for writing in a light tone and busying himself with Pièces de galanterie. (3) Morus is a brilliant preacher, who has attained a considerable success in the manner which he affected of introducing subtleties and paradoxes in his sermons. His sermons were doubtless more effective in the pulpit than on

1. O. D. IV. 183-192.

Here also Bayle mentions the Roman Bourgeois and other works of Furetière and says of him: il a montré qu'il avoit beaucoup de talens pour cette espèce de Morale qui cherche à nous guérir du vice en le tournant en ridicule. O. D. IV. 192.

Cf. section VII. page 112, of the present study.

For comment on other writings of Furetière, cf. O. D. I. 585. Bayle refers to Furetière's second factum against certain members of the Academy, to conclude that it is piquant but after all does not do any great harm to those attacked.

2. O. D. I. L. 18.

3. O. D. II. 25.

Cf. O. D. IV. 646: Nos meilleurs écrivains (of style) les Bouhours, les Cornéilles, et, leur oisier Vau-
relas.

paper. His imitators have failed miserably, and indeed Bayle has no sympathy with this particular manner of preaching, though he grants the skill of its originator as well as his learning and esprit. (1) Fléchier is one of the best writers of France, as is evident from his translation of the life of Cardinal Commendon. (2) He is a master at the art of writing panegyrics. (3) The funeral oration on Marie Thérèse pronounced by l'Abbé de la Chambre is commended. (4) It was a difficult task to render sufficient praise to this illustrious lady, but the preacher succeeded admirably. The politesse of his style is noteworthy. A

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1. O. D. I. L. 13, 56, 59, 86. D. X. 562, Morus, I. Cf. section V. page 48, note 4, of the present study.
 2. O. D. I. L. 53. Bayle adds that he has read Fléchier's funeral oration for Mlle. de Rambouillet.
 3. O. D. IV. 575. For favorable comments on Fléchier cf. D. XII. 340, Priscillien, E; D. XII. 655, Rufin, B; O. D. I. L. 119, lxxv; O. D. IV. 727, clxxxiii.
 4. O. D. I. 183, 9. Bayle means Pierre Guéau de la Chambre. For favorable remarks on l'Abbé de la Chambre, Cf. O. D. I. 102, note B, 197, I, 362, I, 740, I.

funeral oration of the eloquent Bourdaloue is referred to with some enthusiasm. ⁽¹⁾ Of Père Papin, Bayle says: Les ouvrages du P. Papin sont fort propres à ragréter les esprits. ⁽²⁾ Bossuet is barely mentioned. ⁽³⁾

Bayle speaks in high terms of La Mothe le Vayer. Il y a beaucoup de profit à faire dans la lecture de cet écrivain, et nous n'avons point d'auteur français qui approche plus de Plutarque que celui-ci. On trouve de belles pensées répandues dans ses ouvrages, on y trouve de solides raisonnemens. L'esprit et l'érudition y marchent de compagnie

1. O. D. II. 302. Bayle censures Mainbourg for not praising the Prince de Condé, and commends Bourdaloue for his éloge of this hero; Cf. O. D. I. 177, 11: Il suffit de voir le nom de ces Messieurs à la tête d'un Sermon, pour en faire un jugement favorable . . . Of Fléchier, Anselme and Bourdaloue. Bayle goes on to praise the funeral oration of Bourdaloue on Henri de Bourbon (the same oration referred to in O. D. II. 302.)
2. O. D. I. L. 41. But Bayle goes on to refer to a criticism of Papin's Réflexions sur la Poétique d'Aristote where it is shown that Papin made many mistakes. The Dictionary has an article on Papin (D. XII. 470-4; Papin. (2)) but it contains no criticism worth attention, i. e. none that bears the stamp of originality with Bayle. Cf. O. D. I. L. 15; especially C'est un bel esprit, comme vous savez et grand poète, comme le témoigne son poème de hororum cura, qui est une continuation des Georgiques de Virgile. Cf. O. D. I. L. 24.
3. On one occasion Bayle cites Bossuet's Oraison funèbre de Marie Thérèse d'Autriche, with the introduction: Qu'en dire ces paroles d'un grand homme. D. XIV. 613, Xénophanes, F.

L'esprit paraît sans doute beaucoup plus s'il
allait seul: les autorités et les citations qui l'accom-
pagent l'offusquent souvent; mais en quelques endroits
il tire son plus grand brillant de l'application heureuse
d'une pensée étrangère. (1) His style is far from polished.
 Bayle refers to the obscenities in his works. It is wrong
 to accuse him of impiety merely because he does not hesi-
 tate to discuss what can be said against religion. (2) Bayle
 testifies to his high esteem for Saint-Evremond (3), and men-
 tions him as an esprit fort who maintained his convictions
 to the end of his life. (4)

Bayle has more to say of Italian writers, perhaps,
 than of any other moderns outside of his own country, and
 yet the remarks on these are meagre in the extreme ---noth-
 ing more than a passing word here and there. He speaks in

1. D. XIV. 303, Vayer, K; cf. ditto, 328, O, where Bayle
 gives a quotation from Naudé which refers to Vayer
 as the Plutarch of France.

2. D. XIV. 286, 7, Vayer.

3. O. D. III. 535, 8; cf. D. X. 170, Valdonat (2), L; O.
 D, IV. 817.

4. O. D. III. 414, cliv; cf. O. D. IV. 869.

a reference to Dante of la sublimité de ce grand génie, but he offers no real criticism of the literary work of the master poet. (1) Of Guido Cavalcante he merely says that certain of his verses are much esteemed. (2) The Dictionary has an article on Tasso, but it is less than a half-column in length. Bayle refers to various works upon Tasso and contented himself with calling the poet l'un des plus grands esprits du XVI^e siècle. (3) There is also an article on Pietro Aretino in the Dictionary. It is suggested that the moral and religious standards of this satirist are low, and there is especial mention of the prodigious praise which he lavished on great men whose patronage he was seeking. (4) The prose writers receive about as little attention as the poets. Eccaccio is a clever man, known chiefly by the Decamerone, which is un recueil de cent nouvelles, où l'on voit des aventures d'amour bien

1. D. V. 332, 3, Dante (2). Cf. D. IV. 308, Capet, A: Bayle discusses Dante's reference to Capet as the son of a beccaio di Parigi, and declares Dante was spiteful here.

2. D. IV. 601, Cavalcante.

3. D. XIV. 45, Tasso.

4. D. II. 296-298, Aretin. (3)

récréatives, et beaucoup de tours de friponnerie joués
aux maria. (1) Boccaccio's work as a poet is rather poor ,

but he has the credit of having used a new form in the
 Théséide. (2) Machiavelli was a très-belle plume. (3)

The Prince contains most pernicious maxims, which the au-
 thor drew up from his observation of the world. (4)

Our author was unable to read English, and there
 is hardly a suggestion of any comment on English literature.
 Milton, he knows, through his Latin works. In an article
 on Milton, in the Dictionary, Bayle refers to the Paradise
Lost and the Paradise Regained and says that the first of
 these poems is considered one of the finest in the English
 language. He mentions the praise given Milton by the
fameux poëte, Dryden. (5) Milton's Latin style is commend-

1. D. III. 492, Boccace, I.

2. D. III. 491-2, Boccace, H. Bayle repeats Letussi's
Vita di Boccaccio, but adds: Il n'appartient qu'aux
grands esprits de tracer des routes inconnues aupara-
vant.

3. D. X. 19, Machiavel.

4. D. X. 24-5, Machiavel, E.

Balzac is right for blaming the impiety of Machia-
 velli's Clitie. D. X. 22, Machiavel, B.

Politien, though Bayle calls him, in a general way,
 one of the most polished writers of his century, is
 blamed for the violence of his invectives and the li-
 centiousness of his poetry. D. XII. 200, Politien; D.
 XII. 211, Politien, O.

For an account of Bayle's opinions concerning the
 Italian historian, Leti, cf. Gigas: Intro., XXV-XXVII,
 notes, 691-2.

5. D. X. 452, Milton, G.

able. (1) Of the various prose writings of Milton Tayle offers no judgment, except to suggest that he treated the subject of Monarchomachs with too little gravity. (2) Milton is extremely satirical. (1) There is an article on William Camden in the Dictionary, and his erudition, intelligence and modesty are praised. (3) There are no remarks worth noting on other English men of letters.

1. D. X. 451, Milton, F. Cf. C. D. I. L. 13.

2. D. X. 451, Milton, F: On le voit à tout moment . . . faire le goguenard et le bouffon.

Apropos of Saumaise and his controversy with Milton there is the following interesting comment on the latter: Il (Saumaise) fut persé jusqu'au vif de ne voir tourné en ridicule par un si petit Auteur . . . C. D. II. 335.

3. D. IV. 363-77, Camden.

Buchanan (George) is one of the best Latin poets of the sixteenth century. D. IV. 212, Buchanan. Cf. C. D. II. 39.

XII.

THE FUNCTION OF THE CRITIC.

The criticism of books is undoubtedly valuable, in Bayle's opinion. He does not take up the question directly, he does not discuss formally the functions of the critic or the services he may render to the world of letters; but his general attitude indicates clearly that he believes the role of the literary judge to be significant. Whether he thinks that criticism improves public taste or plays any part in shaping this taste Bayle does not say -- indeed he probably had no ideas on the subject, for in any case criticism could not mean to him what it has meant to the nineteenth century. But of the fact that it is useful to the author himself Bayle has no doubt. To be sure there are drawbacks. The author is apt to suffer when his work is brought before the tribunal. Since no book is perfect a fair judgment is certain to hurt; ⁽¹⁾ it is always possible to find details open to censure. And, though it may

1. O. D. IV. 530.

be maintained that when a book is criticised it is brought before the public and given especial prominence, this is a doubtful advantage, as is seen in the case of the Cid. Certainly M. Corneille had no reason to be thankful for the remarks of Scudéry and the Academy, which indeed brought his fameuse tragédie to the attention of the whole reading public, but which revealed to this public serious faults. (1) Yet even if criticism lays bare imperfections and so disturbs the peace of an author, it brings mistakes to his attention and enables him to correct blemishes which would otherwise have continued to disfigure his work. (2) This is surely worth while.

The characteristics of Bayle himself as a reader and judge of books are shown by various remarks in his writings. These remarks are valuable, not

1. O. D. IV. 530; (also referred to in section XI, page 216 of the present study). Cf.: En effet il est certain que comme la réputation d'une femme vertueuse ne se relève jamais si parfaitement des blessures de la calomnie, qu'elle n'en porte toujours la cicatrice; un savant homme qui essuye la censure d'un ennemi redoutable, ne tire jamais si bien son épingle du jeu, qu'il n'y laisse quelque chose.

2. O. D. I. 601, viii.

only because they reveal his own individual traits, but also because they throw light on his opinions concerning the general attitude to be taken by a critic. It is desirable in the first place to note these, and then to proceed to the more impersonal comments which give further indication of his doctrine of criticism.

The universal curiosity of our author, the interest he takes in all kinds of books, is shown by his own observations as to the character of his reading. He is omnivorous. He shifts from works of erudition to the latest novel - each book interests him in turn and holds for the moment all of his attention. In a letter written in 1671 he testifies to the diversity of subjects which he covers in his reading. (1)

Vous saurez . . . que comme je ne suis pas capable d'une forte application, ce qui fait que le dernier Livre que je vois, est celui que je préfère à tous les autres, il est arrivé que j'ai fait une lecture assez vague, et assez diversifiée, et que j'ai bien souvent changé de tablature en peu de tems, car tantôt je me suis adonné aux langues, tantôt à la Philosophie, ensuite à l'his-

toire, aux antiquitez, à la géographie, et aux livres galans, selon que ces diverses matières m'étoient offertes, et tout cela sans faire qu'éfleurer les choses, arrivant que je suis toujours dégoûté d'un sujet avant que d'avoir eu le tems de le connoître, soit qu'il ne me plaise plus du tout, soit qu'il me plaise moins que quelqu'autre dont la curiosité me prend. D'où que cela procède, il est certain que jamais avant volage n'a plus souvent changé de maîtresse, que moi de livres. (1) He goes on to speak of some of the books he has read. He names first a Greek Grammar by the older Vossius, next Homer, Hesiod and Theocritus, then the Latins, Juvenal, Ovid and Cicero, and finally a variety of modern authors. The moderns, he says, seem to have attracted him more than the ancients. The list of modern writers given here includes such men as Gaumaise, Morus, Milton, Spanheim, Scaliger and le Fèvre. He mentions also Mlle. des Jardins and Mlle. de Foudéry. This same universal interest of Bayle is reflected in a remark to his younger brother. (2) When he writes to his brother

1. O. D. I. L. 13.

2. O. D. I. L. 37.

concerning some book it does not mean that he recommends it, says Bayle; simply, it is a new book, or he has read it or heard of it -- therefore it seems worth mentioning. Bayle suggests that he is as superficial in this reading as he is catholic, that he looks into many books but that he does not give them profound thought and that they do not make a lasting impression on him. (1) Doubtless he glided lightly over many subjects, but in view of his own productions and his written comments on books, this statement is to be accepted with reserve. It certainly cannot be said that Bayle did not think about what he read.

The editor of the Nouvelles states that he is inclined to be very lenient when he judges a book. He looks on authors with particular favor, on account of the way they devote their efforts to the public good, and consequently he is always more ready to praise than to blame. On se sent un grand penchant à louer les Livres dont on parle, et c'est la moindre reconnoissance que l'on puisse avoir pour un Auteur qui nous instruit, et qui a quelquefois travaillé plusieurs années de

1. Cf. O. D. I. L. 13; O. D. I. L. 107.

suite avec des fatigues accablantes, à nous faire son
présent. (1) This same readiness to criticise favorably
 is reflected in his remarks about the pernicious maxim
 that a book to be esteemed must be without fault. (2)
 Furthermore he objects to the severity of critics who
 have never themselves tried their hand at authorship. (3)

1. C. D. I. 102 Avertissement; Cf. C. D. II. 237: Bayle
 refers to his tendency to say that a book is good
 rather than bad, as a weakness which shows lack of
 penetration; cf. C. D. II. 236, j'avoue que j'ai
plus de penchant à trouver qu'un Livre est bon,
qu'à trouver qu'il est mauvais; cf. C. D. IV.
 750-1, xix: Il n'y a guères de Livre qui ne ne
paraisse bon, quand je ne le lis que pour le lire.
Il faut que pour en trouver le foible, je m'attache
de propos délibéré à le chercher. The criticism
 which is written with a careful regard for proofs,
 with careful thought and meditation, is of course
 more valuable, says Bayle, than the criticism
 which consists of general praise.
2. C. D. IV. 178, viii; cf. C. D. IV. 580-1, xxxvii.
Il est bien vrai, que comme il y a des romans,
qui à les prendre en gros, sont mal faites, bien
qu'elles ayent de très belles parties, il peut
y avoir des Harangues et des Livres dignes de
considération si on les examine pièce à pièce,
mais dont le corps entier soit défectueux; cf. D.
 XII. 94, Finet, D.: Pour peu qu'on soit équitable,
et que l'on connaisse la difficulté de l'entre-
prise, on sera incomparablement plus disposé à
estimer cet auteur à cause de tant d'embarras où
il a bien rencontré qu'à le mépriser à cause de
ses bévues. Of a translation of Pliny.
3. D. VII. 470, Haillan, I. D. XV. 246, Dissert. cont.
le Projet, C.
 Cf. C. D. I. 295, iii: It is easier to criti-
 cise another man's book than to write a book oneself
 which shall be as good.

They are apt to be much more exacting than critics who have been authors and who have experienced the difficulties of the métier; the latter judge with less rigor and more fairness. And there are cases where harsh criticism is particularly uncalled for; in some instances critics may be much less able to judge of the merits of a book than the author himself, although his general power of discrimination be inferior to theirs. (1) It is possible that he has worked on a particular subject until he has an unusual amount of information as to how that subject should be treated, and in such a case his judgment is better than that of the ordinary critic. Evidently Bayle is ready to show a liberal amount of consideration for authors. The fairness of spirit recommended to a critic is seen in the various editorials, if they may so be called, which are inserted in the Nouvelles. In these Avis au Lecteur our author outlines the policy which he wishes to follow in the conduct of the journal. He may see fit, from time to time, to give a definite judgment of a book, but certainly any remarks which are introduced will be free from

1. D. VII. 471, Haillan, I. Bayle adds a personal note; he says he knows better how the Dictionary should be written than some of his critics.

malice, and will be couched in such terms as not to irritate the author in question. He does not, by any means, set himself up as a final judge; whosoever sees fit may appeal from his decisions. Indeed tastes so vary that a man should show neither astonishment nor chagrin when others fail to agree with him. Any remarks which Bayle makes are subject to the corrections of the readers. If a reader convinces him of a mistake in a fact or an opinion he will be grateful and will publish the matter in the Nouvelles, provided, of course, that the censure is not vindictive and personal. He is not one who believes that the dignity of an author suffers when he shows a willingness to submit his work to the public and to be corrected by the public. In short, if Bayle sees fit to criticise a book, he will be fair and moderate, and not claim that he is tout le monde. (1)

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1. Cf. O. D. I. 2, 101, 196, 504. Cf. also O. D. IV. 614; lxiii; 620; 621, lxxi.
 Cf. also D. XVI, 10-11, Préf. de la Première P^{te} Ed, iv.: Bayle says that he ventures to correct authors in the same spirit that a humble soldier might criticise his general - all the while recognizing his own inferiority.
 Cf. also D. XV. 10, Zabarella, G: Bayle explains that he has changed opinion concerning a book which he first knew only through others, and which he has since read himself. He does not suppress his earlier opinion, already published,

This same insistence upon fairness, and upon the exactness necessary in an equitable judge, is further indicated in remarks outside of the Nouvelles. (1) Bayle states that when a man sets out to judge a book he should take into consideration the age and position of the writer, the nature of the subject which he is treating, and the kind of public he is appealing to, in his production. (2) Bayle

but admits frankly that he was wrong.

Cf. also O. D. I. 440: It is suggested that a man of good sense would not try to give a final judgment of the worth of an author. Ce seroit trop se commettre, et usurper un Empire dont on secoueroit le joug incessamment et qui ne réussiroit pas même dans Rome à un Censeur de Trente.

Bayle holds that authors should accept his criticisms in the spirit which prompts them. He judges his own friends, he says, with particular freedom, and believes they will understand his motives. Indeed it is a slur on an author to hesitate in criticising him; it implies that he is not broad enough to accept corrections in the right way. D. VI. 602, Fronton, C; D. XV. 234-5. Dissert. cont. le Projet, vi, O. D. I. 508, iii.

Cf. also O. D. II. 165: Bayle testifies to his own willingness to be corrected; (apropos of the Critique Générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme; cf. O. D. IV. 621, lxx.

1. Cf. D. XII. 217, Polonus, B.: deux qualités essentielles à un bon censeur, l'équité et l'exactitude. Apropos of religious controversy.
2. D. III. 493, Boccace, I.

dwells particularly on this need of considering the purpose of the author. He speaks of this apropos of Fontenelle's Histoire des Oracles. (1) The public is apt to censure a book which is full of erudition but which is dry and unattractive; the public is equally ready to find fault with a work more distinguished for polish than for learning. In either case the public is very likely wrong. For, above all, the end which the author seeks to attain must be considered, and it may be that he is writing for men of science who would only be content with a work that bristles with learning, or it may be that he is catering to the popular taste and tries to choose what would be interesting and diverting for the ordinary reader. (2) Many would-be critics of books need to have this distinction brought before them. Exactness demands that one should be extremely careful in reporting the remarks of an author. A critic must set up for himself a hard and fast rule: let him report the statement of his author accurately,

1. O. B. I. 750.

2. Bayle adds: C'est un mérite bien plus relevé qu'on ne pense, que composer un Ecrit dont les matériaux valent mieux que la façon. O. B. I. 750.

adding nothing and taking nothing away. He must not draw conclusions from an author's statement and refer to them as the author's own, unless the latter admits them as such. (1)

Criticism then is to be carefully restricted by the demands of impartiality and accuracy. But these are the only limitations upon which Bayle insists; indeed he dwells especially on the liberties which a critic may allow himself once he has recognized these requirements. The Republic of Letters is a free state; its citizens are on equal terms and there is no such thing as special favor. The law has no authority in this dominion. It is deplorable for a man, engaged in criticizing another in the Republic of Letters, to call upon the law to defend him against his adversary, to

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1. D. III. 122, Barlette, B.; cf. D. I. C, Cérinthus, B: quel droit a-t-on d'imputer à un auteur un détail qu'il n'expose pas; cf. D. II. IV. 176: a reference to le soin de n'imputer pas aux Auteurs que l'on critique ce qu'ils n'ont point dit; cf. also D. II. I. 449-50: Car lors qu'il s'agit de rendre compte d'un Livre, j'y apporte toute l'attention dont je suis capable ...; cf. also D. III. 331, Béranger: quand on appuie trop rigidelement sur certaines expressions, sans se revêtir de cet esprit d'équité qui cherche le sens d'un auteur dans le but et dans les principes de ses ouvrages, on trouve aisément des propositions erronées. Of an accusation that Saint Bernard was heterodox.

appeal to the authority of the registrars to suppress the other man's books. Such an action betrays the weakness of his own position, lays him open to ridicule and increases interest in the writings of his opponent. He may derive a certain satisfaction from showing the world at large his influence in the courts, and he may convince some ignorant people that, since the other man's books are so condemned, they contain falsehoods; but he is wrong to introduce law into a matter with which law has nothing to do. (1) The only tribunals recognized in the Republic of Letters are those presided over by Truth and Reason. Before these each citizen of the state is on absolutely the same basis as his fellows, and before these he has the right and duty, when occasion arises, to criticise his best friends and the members of his own family. It is just that one citizen of the Republic should refute another who has, he thinks, made a mistake; the credit of the second man may, indeed, be impaired,

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1. D. XIV. 134-7, 140-1, Thomas D. E. I. Apropos of the quarrel of Girac and Costar. Cf. D. XIV. 49, Tavernier, E: The public is the natural tribunal for judging a dispute among men of letters, but a controversial writer may indeed appeal to the courts when his personal honor is attacked in an insulting libel.

but his critic has to take the same chance, and it is all in the interest of truth. (1)

With the principle established that there shall be absolute freedom of speech in the Republic of Letters within the bounds of justice, the question remains as to what standards shall be set up for judging a literary work. Is there an absolute code of tastes according to which each case may be decided? Naturally enough, Bayle does not give the matter any formal treatment. But various remarks give some indication of his ideas on the subject. He does have something to say on standards of taste, and there are some suggestions as to the possibility of variance in these standards according to time and environment.

Taste is really an individual matter, and

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1. D. IV. 584, Catius, D. Bayle speaks especially of savants. He also brings up the question of libels in the Republic of Letters and attacks the practice with some vigor; cf. O. D. IV. 529, iv: A ref. to le génie républicain et indépendant du bel Esprit; cf. O. D. II. 203, vii: Bayle characterises the Republic of Letters and speaks once more of the need of avoiding malice. He says; Il importe au bien général de la République des Lettres, la plus libre, et la plus indépendante de toutes les Sociétés, que personne n'entreprenne impunément sur la liberté des autres, et que l'on fasse sentir avec modération à ceux qui foulent aux pieds les règles de l'honnêteté, ce qu'ils ont fait sentir à leurs Confrères; cf. O. D. I. 444, Avertissement.: Readers and authors in the Republic of Letters have the right to criticise each other freely.

each individual has a standard of his own, based upon his own particular make-up. One of Bayle's comments on the variety of ways in which different people will judge the same thing is especially interesting. Plusieurs personnes regardent un même tableau, Chef-d'oeuvre d'un Michel Ange, et en font mille jugemens différens. Celui qui est dans le point de vûe, et qui est connoisseur le trouve admirable; d'autres qui le regardent d'un autre point, et qui n'ont nul goût, ni habilité, le méprisent. Le connoisseur pourra se moquer tant qu'il lui plaira de leur ignorance, ou en avoir pitié; mais il seroit ridicule s'il les accusoit de mentir, et de soutenir malicieusement que le Tableau ne vaut rien, pendant qu'ils savent le contraire. Oh! mais la beauté de ce Tableau est si visible qu'il n'y a pas moyen de ne la voir pas! Qui vous a dit cela, et vous-même qui le connoissez si bien, voyez-vous la bonté et la beauté de certaines pierres que'un Jouvaillier prétend qui doit sauter aux yeux de tout le monde? Vous trouvez peut-être le vin de Canarie si bon, que vous croyez qu'il ne faut qu'avoir une langue pour sentir cette bonté; mais combien y a-t-il de gens qui valent autant que vous, et qui ne boivent que de l'eau, qui ne sauroient mettre dans leur bouche le vin sans le trouver très-mauvais. Ainsi c'est une

ignorance crasse du monde, et de l'homme principalement,
que de juger du goût d'autrui par le nôtre. (1)

Beyond this fact of the variability of taste Bayle has only one general principle to lay down on the subject; but on this one he insists with considerable definiteness. The judgment of connoisseurs is infinitely superior to that of the general public; the testimony of the minority is, in many cases, much more weighty than that of the majority.⁽²⁾ It is true, of course, that a work of art which is approved both by the people and by the critics of the métier may be reasoned better than one which wins the votes of the latter only. There are certain branches of art, such as painting, music and oratory, which, appealing to the senses, often have a distinct attraction for both classes. But when it comes to a choice between the approbation of the one class or of the other, as often happens in the case of qualités de l'esprit, there is no doubt as to which is the more desirable. The drama, to be sure, is meant, above all, to please the people, and therefore a play-

1. O. D. II. 396. It must be noted that this is part of an argument which Bayle uses in a religious controversy.

2. O. D. III. 200-204.

wright is excusable for catering to their taste, but certainly the praise of those for who are well acquainted with the details of composing a piece is much surer proof of excellence than the commendation accorded by the general public. Oratory offers another example. If those who give public addresses had to choose between pleasing the crowd and pleasing a select few, the common sense would probably demand that they choose the first alternative. But in any case, a speech or sermon which receives the vote of the connoisseurs is certainly superior to one approved only by the vulgar herd.

Just as Bayle insists on the value of the opinions given by the elect, so he decries the importance of popular judgments. Often enough the reading public does not understand the art of reading, (1) and the mistakes and indeed the unfairness of this public are manifest in a variety of ways. (2) They are careless, (3) they skip the passages which they do not understand at first glance, and label them obscure; (4) they jump at

1. Cf. O. D. I. 302, l'art de lire, qui est une chose peu connue.

2. Cf. O. D. IV. 280, cccxliii: On ne peut rien voir de plus injuste que la plupart des lecteurs. Bayle speaks apropos of his own controversial writings.

3. Cf. O. D. I. 290, ix.

4. O. D. 304, Archélaüs (2), r.

conclusions. (1) Bayle declares with particular vigor against this precipitate kind of judgment in the case of certain readers he calls, on an edition of La Fontaine's fables. Because he praises the fables in some respects the readers will at once conclude, he says, that La Fontaine is incomparable in every way. That is the habit of readers: if they see an author praised for his learning they at once conclude he is also polished, discerning and keen; if they see his intelligence commended they immediately infer that he is also noteworthy for erudition. Certainly these people do not know how to discriminate. (2) Moreover readers are vain, and it is pleasing to their self esteem, and gives them, as well, a certain malignant satisfaction, to be able to criticise a book. (3)

1. Cf. O. D. I. 264, iv; O. D. I. 529, ii.

2. O. D. I. 274, v.

3. O. D. II. 161. The references to this article (O. D. II. 161-3) are to comments Bayle makes apropos of the publication of the Nouvelles Lettres ... sur l'Hist. du Calvinisme. He is arguing that a writer's second book is not apt to receive as warm a welcome as his first and he makes these statements in support of that.

Cf: Ce portier simplement pour Juger de la bonté d'un ouvrage, c'est quelque chose. Mais Juger qu'un Livre est meilleur qu'un autre, c'est bien plus. Le discernement du bon d'avec le meilleur flâte tout autrement notre vanité que le discernement du bon d'avec le

They are easily dazzled with what is brilliant, and they do not attach the right significance to solid values. They are inclined to judge a book like a painting. Ceux qui ne savent pas à sentir les finesses de la peinture, jugent toujours de la beauté d'un Tableau par la vivacité du coloris: ils ne sont presque sensibles qu'aux enlumineures: les manières les plus finies qui ont toujours quelque chose de sec, ne les touchent pas. Il en va de même de la plupart des Lecteurs. Un Livre où l'on ne s'est rien pardonné, et d'où l'on a banni rigoureusement tous les ornemens superflus ne leur paroît qu'un squelette désagréable.⁽¹⁾

The taste for novelties, characteristic of all mankind, makes readers more enthusiastic about the first production of an author than about what he writes after they have become well acquainted with his work.⁽¹⁾ Here is another manifestation of the uncertainty of the judgment of the reading public: on account of this novelty-seeking

mauvais. Aussi on se sent porté par l'amour propre à juger, que de deux Ouvrages composez par un habile homme, l'un est plus parfait que l'autre. Moreover our malignity makes us take pleasure in seeing the reputation of an author lowered, so we are especially ready to say that his second production is not as good as his first.

C. D. II. 161.

1. O. D. II. 162.

their taste may be depraved; they may fail to appreciate the merits of a book by a well-known author merely because it lacks the charm of the unfamiliar. There is perhaps a certain malignity in this case too; a reader rather enjoys finding fault with an author whose general success has become a little wearisome. (1) Balzac is an example of a writer who has suffered from the caprices of the public; his first productions are admired far more than the later ones, although decidedly inferior to them. (2) And sometimes an author is rejected merely because his name does not happen to suit the ear. (3) Truly the reading public is made up of strange people. (4)

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1. O. D. II. 162. It may be, adds Bayle, qu'en toutes choses on soit plus disposé à faire sa cour au Soleil levant qu'au Soleil couchant. Cf. above, page 257, note 3, quotation;

On the ups and downs of authors cf. D. VI. 265, Eschyle, G, and O. D. III. 552: La République du bel esprit est comme la Cour de Roboam, l'avis des jeunes Conseillers y est préféré à celui des vieux. Apropos of the fall of Cotin.

2. O. D. II. 162. Bayle cites Sorel as his authority for this; cf. D. III. 73, Balzac. (2), G.

3. O. D. II. 162-3.

4. Cf. O. D. I. 334. Bayle says, apropos of religious controversy: Il faut avouer que la plupart des Lecteurs sont d'étranges gens; on a beau les avertir de mille choses; on a beau leur recommander ceci ou cela avec de très-humbles prières; ils n'en suivent pas moins leur humeur et leur coutume. On a fait

But even if it is agreed that the opinions of ordinary readers are of slight value, and that the

des Historiettes sur les précautions inutiles des Mères et des Maris. Je n'espère qu'on n'en fasse sur celles de Messieurs les Auteurs.

As to what kind of readers would be most desirable for an author, provided he could choose, Bayle says he would recommend those neither too learned nor too ignorant. The first discern faults too readily, the others have not enough discrimination to pick out the good points. Bayle agrees with Lucilius on this score and cites Cicero's expression of the same idea. D. IX. 486, Lucilius, F; cf., however, O. D. I. 505: Bayle approves the remark of Mlle. le Fèvre, where she classifies readers into three groups according to whether their taste is good, bad or indifferent, and where she indicates her preference for the first class.

Although he makes these scornful remarks about the characteristics of readers in general, Bayle indicates clearly that in his own writings he believes in catering to their various tastes. He wishes to produce works that shall please all classes of citizens in the Republic of Letters -- and they are legion (O. D. IV. 753, xxx.) -- by the diversity and interest of the material presented. He does not himself care to write merely for the select few who would have him omit such points of erudition as are already known to the learned, and who are impatient at such digression as serve only to refresh the everyday reader after troubling his everyday brain with abstract problems of philosophy and theology. Various comments of some length show Bayle's attitude. For remarks in reference to the Dictionary, cf. D. VII. 112, Comarus B; D. XV. 238, Dissert. cont. le Projet; D. XV. 376, Préface de M. Bayle; O. D. IV. 753, xxix. Of the Nouvelles, cf. O. D. I. L. 142, xcvi. of Pensées Diverses à l'Occasion d'une Fête. Cf. O. D. II. 181 of Nouvelles lettres . . . sur l'Histoire du Calvinisme; cf. O. D. III, 501; cf. O. D. III. 897. Of Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial, O. D. IV. 840, cccii. Cf. O. D. I. 101-2; O. D. IV. 615. On the difficulty of pleasing the public, cf. O. D. II. 252, xiii.

standards set by critics of experience are to be followed, the matter of judging still remains complicated. The best connoisseurs do not agree among themselves. (1) The same fact of the variability of tastes and standards is manifest in the case of the elect. In any instance, the fate which a book meets at the hands of the public is more or less a matter of chance. (2) All rules are inadequate. The Cid and Montaigne's Essais are most irregular, but have

1. Cf. D. XIV. 170, Tirée, 3: que les meilleurs juges des ouvrages de l'esprit ne s'accordaient guère mieux anciennement qu'aujourd'hui . . . ; cf. D. VIII. 403, Jove, 7: l'en faut-il pas conclure que le goût des plus excellens critiques n'est pas uniforme sur une matière qui ne devrait point partager les jugemens? Appropos of the style of Paul Jove.
2. Cf. Gigas, 39, 40; Cf. O. D. I. 714, vi. Il est sûr que le caprice de l'étoile domine autant sur les Livres et sur la réputation des Écrivains, que sur aucune autre chose, et que c'est un ressort plus puissant que les éloges ou que la censure de tels et de tels . . . ; cf. O. IV. 312, Dissert. sur le Jour, VI: le bonheur qui préside sur certains écrits . . . ; cf. also O. D. III. 304: Vous n'ignorez point ce que l'esprit de cabale, le caprice, ou le changement de goût, la complaisance intéressée, contribuent quelquefois à faire avoir plus de vogue à ceux qui n'excellent pas autant que d'autres dans les beaux arts ; cf. also O. D. I. 78, III: rien ne donne tant d'envie d'avoir un Livre que la difficulté de le trouver; et c'est bien souvent par cette difficulté que des Livres qui ne valent rien, acquièrent une grande réputation. Appropos of a religious controversy.

met with unusual success. (1) There is only one principle which is incontestable: de gustibus non est disputandum. (2)

Although the Rotterdam sceptic sees so little that suggests uniformity in any aspect of the question of taste, he is inclined to grant that the standards which may prevail at any given time have enough in common to differentiate them from the standards which characterize other periods. He is ready to admit that methods of literary expression and the principles by which these methods shall be judged, do vary as units from age to age.

Of the world in general he agrees, of course, that there is a marked difference in the manners, language, point of view, etc. of the successive centuries. (3)

1. D. XII. 28, Philistus, F. Bayle cites La Bruyère in a passage where the latter comments on the difference between a bel ouvrage and un ouvrage parfait ou régulier, and takes the Cid as an example.
2. Cf. C. D. I. L. 146, xviiii: on ne dispute point des goûts; cf. C. D. I. 171; Cela nous doit montrer que la beauté n'est qu'un jeu de notre imagination, qui change selon les peuples et selon les siècles. Apropos of the taste of the ancients who considered a petit front a mark of beauty.
3. C. D. II. 358: Si les François du cinquième siècle revenaient au monde, ils ne retrouveroient pas en France ni leur langue, ni leurs moeurs, ni leurs manières de s'habiller, de bâtir, d'apprêter les viandes, de faire le sucre, de terminer leur procès etc. Et si l'on parcourt toutes les Nations du monde,

He does not hold, however, to the idea that these changes point to a distinct progress. The moral development of man is nil; his history is a history of alternate ups and downs and, at the end, he is left where he started.

Le monde est un véritable jeu de bascule; tour à tour on y monte et on y descend. On doit admirer dans ce jeu-là les profondeurs d'une sage providence, et l'activité de nos passions. ... D'ici à deux mille ans, si le monde dure autant, les réitérations continuelles de la bascule n'auront rien gagné sur le coeur humain. (1) In his

attack on the practice of bringing the secular arm of the state to bear against those accused of heretical doctrine, Bayle speaks with particular definiteness on this lack of progress. The world is too unsteady to profit from past weaknesses. (2) And in one of his

letters Bayle puts the shifting in morals and the shifting in matters of learning into the same classification. Il en va des moeurs comme des Sciences. Celles-ci

et que l'on compare les loix, les moeurs, la Langue qu'elles ont eu un certain siècle, avec les loix, les moeurs, la Langue qu'elles avoient dix ou douze siècles auparavant on y trouve des différences énormes, (Part of an argument de circonstance); cf. D. I. 242, Agar; D. IV. 104, Brasavolus, C; D. VI. 41, Prusius, D; D. D. IV. 537

1. D. VI. 284-5, Esope (2), I.
2. D. I. 61, Abélard, O. Bayle's attitude on religious tolerance undoubtedly makes him speak with the more vigor here.

ne vont pas en augmentant. Parvenues à un haut degré,
elles font place peu à peu à l'ignorance; et, à leur tour,
les siècles barbares, parvenus au comble, font place à
une nouvelle naissance de l'érudition. C'est ce que
l'Histoire nous apprend. (1)

On various occasions Bayle points out instances of the changes which take place in things literary, from age to age, from generation to generation, even. There is a marked difference between the majestic simplicity of style characteristic of Virgil, Cicero and the writers of their day and the dazzling but inferior brilliancy of Pliny the Younger, Seneca and Tacitus, who represent a later period in Latin literature. (2) The difference

1. C. D. II, 731; cf. D. I. 514, Anquet, F: Le pie est
qu'on ne profite pas du passé. Of a certain re-
 ligious doctrine; C. D. I. 735: c'est la destinée
de l'homme de profiter peu du temps passé, et de
laisser revenir les mêmes fautes, aussi-bien que
les mêmes mœurs; F. V. 376, Cécile, F: Combien
les mœurs ont leur flux et leur reflux; C. D. I.
708-9. On se lasse de tout, et c'est pour cela
que les mœurs les plus courues disparaissent tôt
ou tard. Il y en a peu qui n'en aillent pour leur
ours; elles renaissent presque toutes après un
certain nombre d'années. Je ne sais si les Recueils
des Pièces choisies qui ont été autrefois si à la
mode, et qui ont tant fait gagner les Libraires, se
relèveront un jour de leur chute.

2. F. VII. 334, Priole, L. (Cf. section XI. page 183 of the

in the age is noticeable in the case of Morrice.

His eloquence was so excellent that if he had lived in the Augustan age he might have rivaled Virgil. But thirty or forty years may occasion a vital difference between two authors. The poets who lived at the time of Henry IV and those who lived during the minority of Louis XIV. give irrefutable evidence of the changes which occur. (1)

The seventeenth century is different from those which preceded it. Contrasted with the sixteenth it may be said to be more clever, but less learned. The sixteenth century men of letters devoted themselves

1. O. D. I. 339, iv; cf. D. IX. 511, Morrice (3), n: Bayle suggests that a writer's style does not always place him definitely in a particular period. Combien avons-nous d'auteurs plus jeunes que Balzac, qui écrivaient en vieux gaulois pendant que Balzac écrivait éloquentement et poliment? Cf: Je sais bien que dans tous les siècles on ne juge pas des choses sur le même pied, et que je dois consentir qu'on rabatte de mon parallèle ce qu'on jugera à propos; mais jamais on ne sauvera le raisonnement d'Morice; et au pis aller, nous connaîtrons qu'au temps d'Morice les idées de la raison étaient encore bien confuses, puisqu'Achille, dans l'Illiade, s'exprime ainsi: "J'aimais Briseïs de tout mon cœur, quoique la force des armes l'eût fait tomber entre nos mains." D. IV. 101 Briseïs, 2. Bayle criticises Morrice for alleging the love of Achilles for Briseïs to prove that it is allowable to love a servant. Briseïs was a queen in captivity, and the parallel is a poor one. Bayle merely echoes the sentiment of Morrice, but shows that he agrees with him fully.

to erudite criticism, and gathered a vast number of facts; their successors have a different taste and have been distinguished rather by the fineness of their discernment, the nicety of their intelligence. (1) Bayle refers a number of times to the enlightenment of his own age, but he is hardly inclined to admit that it is especially superior in this regard. (2)

The literary changes which Bayle mentions seem to represent to him a mere swaying to and fro, rather

1. D. I. 183, Aconce, D: Bayle quotes le père Marin and grants that he is merely echoing the opinion of this author as to the difference between the two centuries.
2. D. I. 14, Abaris, I. Bayle says that for the most part notre siècle est aussi dupe que les autres in listening to deviners, would be prophets, etc. D. D. I. 34: On se pique dans ce siècle d'être extrêmement éclairé: cependant on n'a peut-être jamais eu plus de hardiesse à débiter des fables visiblement contradictoires (apropos c^e History). D. D. I. 35: Voilà de ces choses ... qui obligent plusieurs personnes à dire ... que notre siècle, avec toutes les lumières dont il se vante, est plus fou que les précédens..... Apropos of the dragonnade in France. Note, however, these cases where Bayle speaks favorably of his own age: D. D. I. I. 99, lxx: les lumières de ce siècle défont et savent, etc. D. D. I. 41, xl: Apropos of scientific Academies Bayle says: Ainsi nous voilà dans un siècle qui va devenir de jour en jour plus éclairé, de sorte que tous les siècles précédens ne seront que ténèbres en comparaison.

than a notion which is ever steadily in one direction. This idea is brought out when he speaks of the standards of modesty maintained in royal writing. On voit régner dans cette sorte d'écrits le même flux et reflux qui se remarque par tout ailleurs; on s'éloigne d'un certain caractère, et puis on y retourne. M. d'Urfé donne plus de modestie à ses personnages qu'on n'avoit fait auparavant. Ceux qui l'ont suivi ont été encore plus austères, mais voilà que l'on se rapproche de l'indolente licence. (1)

Methods of literary expression may be almost wholly a matter of chance, as Bayle suggests, in referring to the persistence of the pastoral genre. It happened that Theocritus pleased Virgil, and that the Occident has accepted the literary tastes of the Greeks and Romans -- wherefore pastorals are still being written. This is entirely fortuitous. (2) Certainly Bayle has little idea of any evolution in letters. (3) But he thinks that the

1. O. D. I. 651, i.

2. O. D. I. 634.

3. Cf. however, O. D. II. 201. Bayle approves a passage from l'Eglise Protestante justifiée par l'Eglise Romaine, wherein is a suggestion that poetic standards progress from age to age.

differences as to taste in different ages are worth noting, and various references indicate his belief that in judging individual authors one should take into account the standards of excellence which prevailed during their particular periods. (1)

There is another factor to be considered in the judging of a book; the question of the milieu in which the author wrote. At least Bayle suggests this, although here again he does not give any definite comment on the subject. There are various references to the curiosity of those who like to know about the lives of authors and the circumstances under which their works are written, and Bayle seems to think that it is worth while to gratify such curiosity. (2) Apparently he thinks that these data may have significance in the criticising of a book. (3)

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1. Cf. D. II. 283, Arétin, A: Il (Aretino) était assez bon poète. Il faut entendre ceci en égard à ce temps-là ...; cf. D. II. 584, Ausone: Généralement parlant, il y a des duretés dans ses manières, et dans son style; mais c'était plutôt le défaut du siècle, que celui de son esprit. Cf Ausonius. For similar remarks, cf. D. III. 20 Papias, I; D. IV. 16, Bassus; D. X. 336, Marcellus, D.
 2. O. D. I. 134, x; O. D. I. 140. ii; O. D. I. 601, viii; O. D. III. 508 iii.
 3. Cf. O. D. I. 284 iv; O. D. I. 352 vii; O. D. I. 574, iv; O. D. I. 678, i; etc. In these cases Bayle gives such details himself about the authors whose works he describes, with the implication that they may have a bearing on the criticism of the books.

He mentions several influences which may have some effect on an author and his productions. He has nothing to say as to what may be the importance of woman in the Republic of Letters, but he grants that the sex a été la principale occasion, et le meilleur instrument de la civilité et de la politesse qui s'est vuë parmi les hommes......⁽¹⁾ Court life gives a certain polish and esprit, but does not develop the solid intelligence able to grapple with the problems of theology and philosophy.⁽²⁾ Men of letters who can live in a big city have a very distinct advantage.⁽³⁾ It is there that they can count on a good supply of books, that they can hear the best teachers and draw inspiration from conversations with the most learned. There is no better place to acquire a polished correctness in speech, and an understanding of good taste.

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1. O. D. II. 283, vii; cf. D. IX. 215, Lycurgue, D; O. D. II. 286, xvii.
 2. O. D. III. 99, cliii. This is part of an argument de circonstance.
 3. O. D. III. 503-7, i, ii, cf. O. D. I. L. 47: Bayle recommends his younger brother not to come to Paris until he has attained some maturity.

Country life, to be sure, has its advantages for those who need quiet meditation rather than many books and associates; and those men are happy who can shift from city to country as they like.⁽¹⁾ But writers who have been brought up in provincial surroundings labor under very considerable difficulties. Bayle mentions the fact that the beaux esprits of a capital city are inclined to lay claim to a distinct superiority over those of the provinces, and he is ready to think that there is a real basis for this claim.⁽²⁾ Provincials generally retain a suggestion of their country rudeness, however much they may have gotten away from the influ-

1. Bayle adds: Il faut avouer que la simple profession des Lettres conduit rarement à cette fortune-là: bien des Auteurs sont réduits à louer des chambres proche du toit, et ne peuvent pas payer ponctuellement le propriétaire, ni éviter l'exploit d'un Sergent: et tant s'en faut qu'ils possèdent des maisons de rechange, ils n'ont guères qu'un habit. O. D. III, 507, 11.
2. D. XI. 330-1, Pays, B.; cf. O. D. I. 305: Bayle is speaking of the accusation of patavinity made against Livy. Note the following remark apropos of this: C'est ainsi peut-être qu'il faudroit faire pour bien juger des censures des Anciens: il faudroit voir comment on traiteroit en ce siècle ceux qui se trouveroient en semblable cas.

ence of their own district. Bayle makes one or two remarks on the influence of his home life on a man of letters. There may be cases where an author, free from the cares of marriage, makes more progress than a family man, but it is quite impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule to this effect. Often the man with domestic responsibilities is more active and accomplishes more when at work than the bachelor who has plenty of leisure for letters. (1)

Beyond these remarks there is hardly any suggestion of the influence environment may have. Bayle lays much more stress upon the influence of time, upon the importance of the particular age in which an author lives. In neither case does he treat the subject formally, but it seems indisputable that he thinks these

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1. D. XIV. 502-3. Usserius, E: The remarks are made apropos of religious controversial writing; cf. D. III. 25, Baduel, A: Bayle praises a book which recommends marriage for gens de lettres.
 Cf. D. XVI. 8, Préf. à la 1^{re} Ed. II. Bayle is glad, for his own writing, that he has so much leisure.
 Cf. O. D. I. 177, Avertissement: il est rare de voir des (A) Tiraqueaux qui se signalent également par le grand nombre de leurs productions spirituelles, et de leurs productions corporelles.

- A. Durant 30 années Tiraqueau publia un Livre et fit un enfant à sa femme tous les ans.

things factors to be considered by the critic.

The critics duties, then, are clear-cut.

When he opens a book he shall be as nearly unbiassed as is humanly possible; he shall bend all his energies to finding out exactly what the author says; and he shall consider the circumstances under which the book was written, and the object for which it was intended. Then he may speak with absolute freedom, assured that criticism conducted in this way is valuable.

XIII.

SUMMARY OF DAYLE'S OPINIONS; HIS CHARACTERISTICS
AND PAVE AS A CRITIC.

It is clear that with Dayle literature is hardly a matter of art and that he is not a man of artistic discernment. He is interested in letters because he is interested in everything, and he talks about letters because, in true journalistic fashion, he has ideas to express on all subjects. His opinions enlighten us as to the kind of man he was, even in the very fact that they show a lack of aesthetic judgment, and they are to some extent a suggestion of what the literary tastes of the following century -- really Bayle's own -- will be.

The calling of letters is, in his opinion, a dignified and serious one, a calling which demands men of superior qualities, and which may be expected to lift them above common earthly faults. High ideals of conduct are required. When writers disagree among themselves their disputes must be settled in the spirit of courtesy which the character of their work should develop. Those who enter this profession must not be

self-seeking nor mercenary; authorship must not be a petty occupation undertaken by little men with base aims. The whole attitude of Bayle towards authors and towards their productions shows that his curiosity is not the mere idle curiosity of a man who is concerned with the problems of philosophy and religion and who occasionally turns to literature because it is an interesting manifestation of human activity. The attraction which draws Bayle to literature is strong and well sustained. But it is that part which is least literary, least artistic -- it is the part concerned with positive, tangible facts, which occupies him. A man of brains and not of feelings, whose intellectual side was highly developed and whose artistic sense, not at all, he cares most for letters when they touch on Realien. That any one should put his whole soul into a book is an idea wholly foreign to Bayle. A book is a thing apart from the man, an expression of his brain-power but not of his personality. Literature is impersonal, and not a matter of artistic expression even objective: for Bayle, as we have said, its connection with aesthetics is remote.

His attitude towards the various genres brings this out clearly.

Fiction is not a method of artistic idealization. At best it does not interest Fayle greatly, not enough to incline him to express any very definite opinions. All novels are alike to him; the Princesse de Clèves and Ariane awaken the same amount of enthusiasm. The possibilities of the novel as a means of presenting various phases of human, breathing life, as a means of offering to mankind studies in life which shall lead to broader, saner conceptions of existence -- this is nothing to our philosopher. He speaks, indeed, of truth in relation to novel writing; his interest in truth leads him to demand attention to vraisemblance and to demand it with some insistence. But verity, for him, is positive and substantial and not a conception in which idealizations and things felt rather than known or fully understood, have a place. He objects to the practice of mingling fiction with historical facts. His views on this point are enlightening. A conception of art that is based on truth of the tangible kind, but that seeks to re-present this truth

in a clearer light -- such an idea is wholly absent from Bayle's scheme of things. The truth of the positive sort is too sacred to be contaminated in such a way; this is the only kind of truth that Bayle knows. He is interested in the effect that novels may have on morals, but it is the immediate and, so to speak, the smaller effect -- the directly practical one -- that concerns him. Does a novel that presents immoral facts of life lead its readers to wickedness? He is inclined to think so. Whether a novel may have a wider moral significance, whether it may affect rules of right-living less directly, but more deeply, does not occur to Bayle. For him the novel is a small thing, essentially a love story of a swain and his lady. The subject is to be dropped as soon as the pair are happily wed. Though the Princesse de Clèves interests him, he declares his disapproval of a romance that deals with married folk.

It would not be fair to judge Bayle simply on the basis of what he thinks of fiction, to declare that he is not an artist merely because he fails to appreciate novels. The novel in his day was still in crude form;

he had little that was really good by which to form his taste. But poetry, drama and oratory were not by any means in this early stage of development, and yet his opinions on these forms of artistic expression indicate the same point of view.

It has been noted that to him poetry is frivolous, a jeu d'esprit. As Sainte-Beuve remarks, Bayle never tried his own hand at poetic composition. Certainly the product would not have been remarkable. Bayle is absolutely without any conception of the role that a poet may play. He speaks with more scorn of this class of writers than of any other. That a poet should ever be considered worthy to guide his fellows, to give them a glimpse of the light of the world, through the power of his own vision, that a Vigny should declare the poet the far-seeing pilot who perceives directions more readily than his mates and chooses a course more wisely than they -- such an idea would have astounded Bayle. The only effect which these "impudent versifiers" have upon their

1. Sainte-Beuve, Portraits Littéraires, I. 376.

fellows is immediate and practical: their obscenities and impieties are demoralizing. The only good Bayle sees in poetry is concerned with matters of fact. A man with some of the feelings that impel the poet, and his brother the orator, may turn these to good advantage in the composition of a history, and add to his narrative dignity and vividness. Here is a glimmer of understanding. But it is rare for Bayle to admit any value in the possession of such feelings. A single remark is enough to reveal his attitude towards poetry: he states that a poet who has written a clever eulogy on tobacco may be expected to express in eloquent verse his indignation at an injustice.⁽¹⁾

Drama interests him to the same extent as fiction and poetry. Dramatic poets awaken no respect. All productions attract his attention in a certain measure, but he cares as much for one as for another. Les Femmes Savantes and Psyché appeal to him equally, and he is quite as curious about Arlequin Procureur. The Iphigénie of Racine entertains him, so does the preface --

1. Cf. section III. page 28, note 2, of the present study.

he hardly knows which he likes better. He has something to say about the Amphitryon of Plautus, drawn to this especially, it may be, because the play involves details that are somewhat scabreux. He maintains that Amphitryon is not given an important enough place in the drama, a place fitting the rôle he plays. The principle here is a sound one, but Bayle's criticism is not based on the facts, for he is mistaken in his view that Amphitryon is overshadowed by Creon.⁽¹⁾ Evidently Bayle is not sufficiently familiar with his Plautus. The artistic value of the Cid makes no appeal to him, and Chimène seems abominable.

The general remarks made concerning the genre are practical in character. What is the direct moral effect? It may be good or otherwise, says Bayle; something may be accomplished in curing the petty vices of men, or impiety and crime may be promoted. What is the standard for dramatic productions? The taste of the people. That is, the drama is a divertissement

1. Cf. section IV page 42, note 2, of the present study.

for the people; they may be entertained, and incidentally improved in some of their minor weaknesses -- a viewpoint wholly practical and typical. Doubtless Bayle would see no value in a piece of dramatic writing which is not put on the stage, which does not aim to correct some particular error in moeurs and which counts only as a vivid, true and moving portrayal of human passions, strivings, idealizations. The truth of which Bayle speaks in connection with the drama is once more of a positive sort. Whether there is any ideal truth in a dramatic presentation he does not ask. What he wants to know is whether historical facts have been adhered to, or whether the facts of everyday existence have been treated with respect. The opera has only one interest for Bayle, the stage effects. Music is nothing to him.

Oratory is a matter of the feelings, not of the brain. Orators work on their own passions and appeal to the passions of the audience, they do not use learning or reasoning. They strive to dazzle, they distort the vision. With such men Bayle has naturally little sympathy. He accepts this state of

affairs more from indifference than anything else; when he makes any positive criticism it is unfavorable. The beauties of eloquence, the élan which sometimes carries away both the speaker and his hearers, the splendid enthusiasm which an orator may devote to a noble purpose -- these have no charm for the dispassionate Bayle.

Style is not an artistic process for him. Beauty in style is not recommended, means nothing to him; the ornaments of style seem trifling. He advocates clearness, conciseness, correctness. He objects to the poverty of language, not because it limits man's power to express the beautiful, but because it cramps him in his efforts to present conceptions of things, of facts, in an absolutely clear, clean-cut way. Euphony is much less desirable than clearness. Fact is always to be given the precedence over beauty.

When he speaks of individual authors it is evident once more that the artistic side is not what interests Bayle. The Dictionary is decidedly meagre in its accounts of men of letters; not many are

mentioned, and, when they are, the stress is laid almost wholly on the facts of their lives, or on their various activities outside of literature proper. In these articles there is hardly any real literary criticism. Bayle's opinions on these men have often to be gleaned from passing remarks scattered throughout his works. It becomes evident that what interests him here, as elsewhere, is the positive side. Homer is praised especially for the attention he pays to vraisemblance. Virgil is also praised for vraisemblance, and a good part of the criticism on this poet is concerned with the question of his doctrines on Hades and on infernal punishment. Virgil's use of a certain epithet is discussed from the point of view of accuracy; whether illaudatus was a fit and correct adjective to apply to a tyrant. The obscenities in Virgil are mentioned, and there is some comment on the license, in a similar case, which Ovid permitted himself. Besides the saletés what occupies Bayle especially in speaking of the latter poet, is the description of Chaos in the Metamorphoses; here Bayle launches into a long discussion of the Ancients' conception of the beginning of the world. Of the other ancient poets there is only cursory mention. Lucretius,

of course, occupies Bayle's attention for some time on account of his significance as a philosopher. For Lycophron he manifests esteem, not on account of his poetic genius, but because he must have been clever to compose verse so obscure and complex.

When our author does turn from matters of fact to discussions of the artistic value of poetic creations, he fails utterly. He does not understand Virgil and Homer at all. He speaks with as much enthusiasm of the fables of Aesop, as he does of the Greek epic. The dignity and simplicity of the ancients are to him a ridiculous naïveté. What nonsense to represent Ulysses, a great hero, as a hewer of wood and builder of boats! How absurd for Phoenix to stop and tell nursery tales to Achilles when he is the bearer of an important message to that warrior! Here Bayle altogether misses the point and doubtless he is not over familiar with the incident of Phoenix referring to the boyhood days of Achilles in the effort to stir the heart of that sullen hero. The adventures of Dido and Aeneas have nothing that is romantic or poetic for Bayle. He suggests that the

treatment Aeneas accorded the lady was abominable. And as for Dido, he sees nothing but a vulgar, bourgeois sentiment in her expression:

..... Si quis mihi paryulus aula
Luderet Aeneas.....

Bayle is as little interested in the modern poets as in the ancient. Ronsard and Malherbe are given characteristic articles in the Dictionary: that is, ~~the~~ literary criticism is almost nil. Marot is commented on more at length and the remarks reveal the uncertainty of Bayle's judgment. For him Marot is superior to all the sixteenth century, the Pleiad containing no poets who may be compared with him, and is hardly surpassed at all, except by such men as Sarrasin and Benserade. The two seventeenth century poets for whom Bayle has the most esteem are Molière and La Fontaine; of these his high opinion is manifest. Perhaps it is not surprising that his choice should fall on these two, who are both endowed with intensely human qualities, who are interested in real life, and are not inclined to the filmy idealizations for which he could have felt little sympathy. Bayle's judgment

in praising these two is certainly commendable. But the freedom with which he bestows his praise betrays his lack of discernment. He names Boileau grand poète, but is quite as willing to give that title to the obscure Pierre Franz.

The prose writers interest him more, but here again the same tendency to turn wholly to facts is evident. In speaking of Plutarch he does not ask what may be the value of the Lives as a series of vivid pictures of the ancients, wherein their own human selves are brought before the reader, wherein the spirit of these men and of their times is made manifest. The more tangible things are what strike Bayle, the mistakes in fact which Plutarch makes, the intentional distorting of facts at times, a piece of reasoning that is evidently bad. Cicero is a marvellous orator. But the quality of his style which impresses Bayle most is its clearness. The work of Cicero which brings forth the most comment is the Letters, and herein what interests him above all is the historical feature, the references to actual or probable occurrences. Considerable comment is given the historians and Bayle has a high

respect for men like Livy, Suetonius and Tacitus. To the modern prose writers he pays much more attention than to the modern poets. His criticisms are of the stereotyped variety in many cases, but he has a genuine esteem for men like Balzac who have done much to clarify French style, and for thinkers and savants like Montaigne, Fontenelle, Saint-Evremond, La Mothe Le Vayer, Patin and Ménage.

The interest which Bayle takes in manifestations of literary activity other than those mentioned -- in genres other than poetry, oratory and the like -- simply brings additional evidence to prove that he was an intellectual and not an artist.

History is a matter of facts for him, a chronicle of the things done by men in their various political relations. He insists, to be sure, upon investigation into causes; with any superficial list of dates and happenings he is not content. But, in the last analysis, history is still such a list, although lengthened and completed and with the interrelations of the various facts to some extent established. Bayle has no notion of going still further,

of getting at the ideas which lie back of the various groups of facts; it does not occur to him to treat ~~with~~ history in a broader way, to treat of the meaning of religious, philosophical, literary and humanitarian ideas in their relation to history. It does strike him indeed, as we have said above in speaking of poetry, that the artistic, idealistic sense of a poet or an author may be helpful to a historian, may lend vividness and dignity to his writing. But he does not dwell on the idea at any length and does not explain exactly what he means; it is not certain that he sees here anything more than a somewhat superficial advantage. He suggests that the artist's sense helps in the presentation of the historical material, he does not say whether that feeling enables him to approach a historical subject with more understanding and grasp its significance more completely. As to style, the prime requisite is clearness. Vividness is desirable -- doubtless because it enables the historian to make his facts more positive and real. Certainly it is the substantial, tangible element that attracts Bayle.

For scholarship, of course, his enthusiasm is marked. Here we are still more in the realm of facts. It is to be noted how our author's interest increases as we get away from the region of ideals and approach Realien. As a scholar himself Bayle was indefatigable. Scholarship he defends vigorously against its would-be detractors. He lays down precepts with nothing of the nonchalant manner which characterized his criticisms in fiction, poetry and like fields. Here is something really worthy of occupying his attention; a calling at which a man may spend many long years with profit to himself and to his fellows.

Manifestly Bayle is less interested in art than in facts. The cool, hard-thinking philosopher of Rotterdam had little enthusiasm for the beautiful, and little understanding of it. But to say he lacks artistic sense is not to say he lacks keenness: clever and discerning he undoubtedly is.

The rules for reading which he lays down for the edification of his brother are admirable; they show that Bayle believes in a careful, thoughtful,

discriminating perusal of a book. It is useless to read, he says, unless the ideas of an author are understood in their full significance; a hasty, superficial examination brings no profit.

In view of the enormous amount of reading Bayle did, and in view of the nature of the Nouvelles, where notices of so many books were given each month, it seems likely that he himself was far from a slow reader. He had to cover ground quickly -- and undoubtedly he was able to do so. Sainte-Beuve is eminently just in according him the quick sagacity characteristic of a journalist. The ready accuracy of the criticisms in the Nouvelles testify to Bayle's ability to pick out, in an instant, the good and bad points of a production. His skill, too, in giving a brief summary of the contents of a book, so that every salient feature is brought before the reader indicates the ease with which he grasped the significance of a piece of work. Few of the notices in the Nouvelles deal with books from the point of view of their artistic worth, and where they do it is evident that Bayle's comments are not particularly

valuable. But the excellence of his criticisms where matters of fact are concerned, where it is a question of historical truth, or positive reasoning in philosophy, religion, science -- the value of these is indisputable. And when Bayle takes up literary topics from the matter of fact side, the same discernment is noteworthy. In literature, as well as elsewhere, he is a keen thinker.

He sees at once the clumsiness of which Plutarch is guilty in the course of his argument concerning the advantages of study to women. He understands that a dramatist needs to draw certain lines with a heavy pencil in his portrayal of character, so as to call the attention of the audience to particular traits. He well understands that there is in comedy an element which is universal and an element which is local, and that, in rendering judgment, this fact must not be lost sight of. He appreciates exactly the force of La Rochefoucauld's maxims, their keen-cutting quality, the esprit, the suggestion of malice and misanthropy which permeates them and which is apt to develop in the reader a similar spirit. Homer's description of Helen

makes a particular appeal to him, the description wherein there is no attempt to portray her beauty, feature by feature, but merely a reference to the impression she makes on the Trojan counsellors.

Dayle perceives the force of leaving the details to the reader's imagination, and feels that Helen must indeed have been marvelously fair. He sees the poor taste of over-crowding a poem with minute references to fable and antiquity. He appreciates the fact that the charm of a satire lies in its subtlety, in the cleverness of the veiled allusions. He well understands that language is inadequate, a poor instrument which often fails to give to man's conceptions a clear and satisfactory expression.

The precepts laid down for historical and scholarly work are sound. The thoroughness advocated is of the discriminating kind. Great attention to details is recommended but the result is to be something more than a mass of details; the scholar must be more than a compiler, must use his brains, exercise his power of selection, produce a piece of work that bears evidence of a careful, investigating, discerning

intelligence. The scholar must know where attention to erudite minutiae is called for and where it is out of place. Bayle recognizes two kinds of scholars, and gives the higher place to those with broad sane minds, to those who can put dry facts together and make a living structure of them, who can divine the fundamental relations of things and work out theories from them.

The remarks on criticism show the same careful thinker. Bayle understands why the judgment of a few experts may be much superior to the opinions of a multitude of laymen who have no intimate acquaintance with the details involved in the production of some piece of work. He dwells with considerable insistence on this point -- although, true to his positive, matter of fact character, he grants there may often be practical reasons for following the judgment of the people. Bayle has the historical point of view to a much greater extent than his contemporaries. He has some understanding of how methods of literary expression may vary according to time and environment. He sets forth no formal doctrine on the subject, but he has

thought about it, and his powers of perception have enabled him to see that temps and milieu are undoubtedly factors of importance in the matter of literary production. He perceives this more than a century before Taine and Hennequin.

No mean critic then is Bayle. Certainly his comments are sometimes enlightening and sometimes reveal a fine understanding of what he has to criticise. Furthermore these comments bring out various characteristics which are typical of him as a thinker, in all fields.

That he interests himself in everything, that his curiosity is universal, is apparent. The very fact that he pays so much attention to things literary proves this -- so much attention to a kind of intellectual activity which would hardly be in the province of the philosopher and controversialist. The long list of individual authors about whom he has some comment to offer, shows how writers of all sorts attracted his attention. And the statements which he makes on the subject of how many books he reads and how he skips from one to another are, in themselves, enough to

demonstrate his remarkable avidity for knowledge, in whatever form.

It is evident, too, that Bayle is no respecter of tradition, of authority and set rules. He launches boldly into discussions of the general value of a method of literary expression, and when he thinks a genre is frivolous he speaks freely. No reverence for the great masters of verse holds him back either in discussing their art as a whole, or their individual productions. He accepts the standard judgment of Homer as the greatest of all bards, but he does not hesitate to censure him with some vigor. Virgil is a great poet, but he has numerous faults which Bayle bluntly brings up. Boileau is the great poet of his time, but like the rest has weaknesses. In no case does Bayle set up any man as his literary hero, in no case does tradition, reputation, reverence or anything else keep him from declaring his opinion without constraint.

The ancients inspire no awe. Their ideas in many things are absurd, their mythology is nonsense. Bayle is fair towards them; he does not hesitate to

pay honor where he thinks honor due. But where it strikes him that the literary worth of some classic production is slight, he says so; he is by no means subject to the "malady" of those who think that anything found in one of the ancient authors is right. Indeed in the differences between the Ancient and Modern camps, he leans to the moderns; without taking sides definitely he shows that in that direction lie his sympathies.

The remarks on scholarship and on history indicate the same lack of respect for tradition, the same tendency to doubt, the same manifestation of Bayle's great characteristic, his scepticism. Facts of learning, facts of history, are not to be accepted as such, unless there is ample reason to believe in them. The names of the greatest historians do not inspire such respect that he hesitates to criticise them on occasion. The greatest savants make mistakes; Bayle is not willing to take their word for a fact when he can control the sources himself. In history tradition carries no conviction, indeed it is one of the surest methods of handing down falsehoods. With Bayle

any number of authorities and great names do not counterbalance the weight of documentary evidence.

It has been pointed out in the preface that the universal scepticism which was characteristic of Bayle resulted in a universal spirit of tolerance equally typical. The fact is particularly evident in the criticism dealt with here. This inclination to doubt which is so manifest in Bayle in matters of history and learning, is always accompanied by a readiness to be tolerant. It is permissible, he says, for scholars to engage in disputes among themselves, indeed it is desirable, for such disputes often lead to advances in knowledge. But fairness and respect for the opinions of others must characterize such discussions; there is no excuse for them unless conducted in a gentlemanly spirit. Nowhere does Bayle insist on tolerance with more vigor than in the remarks on history. He treats of partiality more fully than of any other phase of the subject, he discusses the wide-spread practice of being partial and the way prejudice is manifested in the historian, in the witnesses on whom he has to call, and in the reading public. He deplores every manifestation of

this evil. He grants the extreme difficulty of being impartial and does not expect that to avoid all bias, will be possible. But the effort to do this he sets up as the historian's first commandment. x

No attitude could be more tolerant than that recommended by Bayle in his remarks on criticism. A critic shall make every effort to treat his author with all fairness, shall show every consideration for him, shall find out exactly his aims and the circumstances under which he writes. When this is done the critic may speak freely. And the author in question is to exercise tolerance on his side, is to recognize the fair and equitable spirit which prompts the remarks, and accept them as such.

Bayle is a free lance, whose activity carries him into all fields of literature, whose bold liberal spirit prompts him to criticise everything that comes under his hand. His keenness enables him to see the weak point in every opinion, the uncertain basis upon which all of man's ideas are founded. His innate sense of justice makes him realize that it is not fair for an individual to declare false all views ex-

cept his own. The opinions of one's neighbor may be quite as good, and certainly are to be respected. In literature as elsewhere Bayle is the universal doubter and the universal tolerant.

XIV

INFLUENCE OF BAYLE.

The influence of Bayle on the following age is tremendous. Many of the ideas of the XVIII century may be directly traced to him. No study of the refugee at Rotterdam would be complete without a reference to that influence, and the present dissertation may well conclude with a brief mention of how his precepts, those on literature among the rest, were spread throughout Europe.

In his own day the rôle which Bayle played was a most important one and his activity is astonishing. He conducted courses at Rotterdam, produced his big folios, and at the same time kept up an enormous correspondence with learned scholars. His books were published at London, Geneva, The Hague and Rotterdam; friends and enemies in England, Germany, France, Switzerland and Holland were interested in his work. Boileau took pleasure in reading the Dictionary, (1)

1. O. D. IV. 772.

Saint-Evremond held its author in high esteem, (1) La Fontaine admired him. (2) William III considered him enough of a power to be dangerous. Christina of Sweden deigned to quarrel with him over certain of his remarks. Efforts were made to reconvert him to the Roman faith, for his value as an ally was recognized. Three English Lords, the Earls of Shaftsbury, of Albemarle and of Huntington offered Bayle patronage, but he was unwilling to relinquish the freedom of his life at Rotterdam and preferred to keep busily at work in his own study.

The products of this assiduous labor were received by the public with unusual enthusiasm. The Nouvelles were in demand all over Europe. The Dictionnaire was so immediately popular that soon after it began to appear the printer had to change his plans and

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1. Cf. Cazes, 73. Cf. also Oeuvres Mêlées de Saint-Evremond, Paris, Techener fils, 1865, Vol. II, p. 513, note 1. Saint-Evremond's sympathy for Bayle is evident from the sarcastic response which he imagines Bayle writing to the criticism of Renaudot. (ditto, pp. 513-16)
 2. Cf. Cazes, p. 71. Cf. La Fontaine, Oeuvres, Paris, Hachette, 1892. Vol. IX, p. 369. (Lettre à M. Simon de Troyes)

print many extra copies. The first edition was promptly followed by a second. In 1720, after the author's death, came a third. From 1697 to 1741, in a period of forty-four years, nine editions of the Dictionary appeared -- surely an imposing list. During the Regency the Dictionary had such a tremendous vogue that, in their anxiety to peruse the volumes, zealous students used to form in line at the doors of the Bibliothèque Mazarine. The Pensées were hardly less popular. From 1682 to 1704, four editions were published, and that in the 1737 edition of the Oeuvres Diverses is the seventh.

Various attacks on Bayle's writings undoubtedly helped to call attention to them. The Critique Generale was burned at the Place de Grève by the Paris executioner. The proclamation against the book was written by Maimbourg himself and was couched in the most violent terms; the three thousand copies of this diatribe spread broadcast through Paris were calculated to impel all men to inspect for themselves this pernicious work.⁽¹⁾ Public interest was whetted by further persecutions. The state's

1. Cf. Disraeli, Curiosities of Literature, III., 142-3.

authority was brought to bear against the Pensées, and the publication of the Dictionary in France was strictly forbidden. As late as 1750, certain zealots at Colmar, Germany, inspired by a Jesuit father, indulged in an auto da fe during which a number of copies of the Dictionary were consigned to the flames. (1)

If other evidence were lacking, the remarks of certain eighteenth-century writers alone would indicate the influence of Bayle and show that his ideas had taken a firm hold. To Voltaire he is l'éternel honneur de la humaine. (2) Voltaire testifies frequently to his admiration. He regrets, indeed, that the Dictionary should not be reduced to a single volume from which innumerable articles of little use might be omitted and wherein the style might be chastened and polished. (3) He grants also that his hero knew nothing of physics

1. Cf. Betz, 128, and the reference in Betz to Voltaire.

2. Voltaire, Ceuvres Complètes, Paris, Garnier Frères, 1877, Vol. VII, p. 477.

3. Id. Vol. XXXV, 288

and that his understanding of philosophy was deficient. But after all the Dictionary is inimitable.⁽¹⁾ Furthermore the periodical genre was perfected when the Nouvelles were published.⁽²⁾ As a man of learning, as a keen and profound reasoner, Bayle is deserving of the highest commendation. He has a mighty power of exact and careful analysis and, even in the case of the most ordinary intelligence, he is able to stimulate thought.⁽³⁾

The comments of other men, although not always friendly, testify to Bayle's force. Diderot does not by any means agree with all his doctrines, but there is no doubt of the respect he feels for Bayle's contribution to the development of the world's ideas. He is an astonishing man, declares Diderot, in paying him the following tribute. Bayle eut peu d'égaux dans l'art de raisonner, peut-être point de supérieur. Personne ne sut saisir plus subtilement le faible d'un système; personne n'en sut faire valoir plus fortement les

1. Id. Vol. XIV, 37-9

2. Id. Vol. XIV, 132.

3. Id. Vol. XXXIII, 568; Vol. XXIV, 274.

avantages; redoutable quand il prouve; plus redoutable encore quand il objecte: doué d'une imagination gaie et féconde en même temps qu'il prouve, il amuse, il peint, il séduit. (1)

The encyclopedist speaks of the remarkable popularity of the Critique Générale, and says the comet of 1680 was made famous by the Pensées.

Louis Racine's attack on Bayle in the Epître à M.

Rousseau shows that even where his influence was detested it was still potent. (2)

Frederick the Great was familiar with our author's works and absorbed his ideas on tolerance and on the separation of morals from religious

dogma. (3) He himself prepared an Extrait du Dictionnaire de Bayle, in which he placed those philosophic articles that he considered especially good, and for which he wrote a commendatory preface. (4)

1. Diderot, Oeuvres Complètes, Paris, Garnier Frères, 1876. Vol. XVI. p. 490 (Encyclopédie, Article Pyrrhonisme).

2. L. Racine, Oeuvres, Paris, Le Normant, 1808. Vol. II, p. 95. Voltaire speaks with particular acerbity of the partiality of Racine in his attack on Bayle; XVII, 553-5, Dictionnaire Philosophique, Article, Bayle.

3. Cf. Betz, 127-8.

4. Voltaire, Oeuvres, XLIV, 202, note 1.

Viewed then merely from the material standpoint, from the number of editions of Bayle's works, from the facts of his activity and his relations with the Great Europeans of his day, from the definitely expressed opinions of the eighteenth century, it is sure that he was long a power. The way this power was exerted, the connection of Bayle's ideas with those of the following age, may be seen in a variety of cases. There are a number of tendencies for which he may to some extent be considered responsible.

After the seventeenth century, with its devotion to art, there came a reaction. The following century was not artistic, was not distinguished for its taste, placed emphasis on the power of the intelligence and not on aesthetic discernment; produced comparatively little that ranks high in la littérature toute pure. The interest of the age was in philosophy, in the sciences, in sociological problems, and not at all in art and beauty.

Bayle's literary criticism offers the clearest evidence of the early leanings in this direction. It has been seen that his chief characteristic here was

his positive, matter-of-fact attitude, his failure to appreciate the aesthetic value of a book, and his inclination to judge it merely as an intellectual effort. No point of view could be more distinctly of the eighteenth century. In judging those features that make an appeal to the intelligence, Bayle is keen enough. So the eighteenth century: intellectually powerful as well as artistically weak. It seems undoubted that Bayle's tendencies were a factor in the development of the following century.

Another essential difference between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries lies in their attitude towards authority -- and here again our author's influence is evident. The seventeenth century stood especially for tradition and precedent. In religion, divine and ecclesiastic authority held sway. Whatever the wrangling among Jesuits, Jansenists, Quietists, Catholics and Protestants, their differences were differences of sect; the basic idea of faith was left undisturbed. In politics it was the epoch of the roi soleil, the voice of the people was not raised, the noble's power was practically nil, the monarchical

spirit permeated everything. Society was an institution already fully fashioned and permanent; individuals indeed might change, but authority had set its mark upon the various groups, as such, and there were no shifts. Literature had its dictator in Boileau. Here again, only within limits, might individuality assert itself; there were just so many literary kinds, and such and such precepts for composing in each genre. Authority demanded that one should be a devout and submissive Christian, a loyal subject to absolute monarchy, a faithful adherent to the established principles of literary expression.

The eighteenth century, and Bayle as its first representative, cared nothing for established principles. The spirit of tradition and precedent was given many a rude jolt, and at length was completely overturned. The French Revolution was the final expression of the overthrow of the idea of authority. Bayle was not only one of the earliest but one of the most important contributors to this movement. The general esprit Critique which characterized his writings, the universal scepticism, has been noted. The freedom which he allows

himself in the particular field of literary criticism has been pointed out at some length. Bayle not only examined, he attacked. The turn of mind, naturally contradictory, of this indefatigable investigator made him take great pleasure in denying fixed precepts, and his extraordinary keenness gave him a sure sense of their vulnerable points. Joined to all this was perhaps a certain malignity, a mischievous delight in perplexing the poor, unthinking everyday reader. Moreover Bayle made use of his power to give interest to these attacks. The digressions, the easy manner in which he passed from one subject to another, relieving a theological doctrine with a bit of raillery, introducing an amusing story or a saleté -- these attracted readers and held their attention to books which seemed most unusual and which presented strange, compelling arguments against the established conceptions they had been born to and had always accepted.

In matters of erudition, too, the freedom of thought so characteristic of Bayle exerted its influence on the following century. It has been seen that in the field of scholarship and history he was far from being

awe-struck by great names, that he was always inclined to doubt, to demand substantial documentary evidence. Such independence of judgment was as foreign to the seventeenth century as it was distinctly characteristic of the following period. Bayle is the connecting link. The Dictionary spread this conception among the writers of the next age. Even in the attention paid to minute details of erudition its author foreshadows the eighteenth century. He helps develop the tendency to consider the little facts, which are petty in themselves, but which sometimes lead to enormous consequences. A historian like Voltaire, who looks on such tiny sparks as capable of kindling tremendous conflagrations, has evidently felt the influence of Bayle.

Even in the methods pursued by Bayle in presenting his revolutionary principles, his influence is noteworthy. It was dangerous in his time and indeed later to speak with such extraordinary freedom on matters of religion, morals and learning. It was long necessary to conciliate the ruling powers, or at least to avoid offending them. Our author had his own scheme for doing this: he scattered his revolutionary remarks

in such a way that on no single page could there be found enough evidence to damn him as a seditious writer. Potent doctrines are discovered tucked away in the most unexpected places, in notes where no censor would look for them. It is precisely this method which is employed by the eighteenth century and advocated by Diderot in his article on encyclopaedia writing. (1)

The direct influence of Bayle as a journalist is considerable. We have noted the distinctive marks of the Nouvelles, and especially Bayle's attitude as editor. The universal character of the periodical, the enormous range of subjects, the interest in all fields of intellectual activity and the desire to bring all these things to the attention of the reading public, and to stimulate, in this public, a liking for information and for thinking -- such are the traits that lead Betz to style the Nouvelles the erste populärwissenschaftliche Zeitschrift. It is certain that later journalists understood the value of the Nouvelles as a model. It is also

1. Cf. Brunetière, Etudes Critiques, V, 187, 333.

certain that the impartiality displayed in conducting this work, the absolute freedom from bias and the refusal to seek patronage, offered to editors a noble example.

Bayle's spirit of religious tolerance is that same spirit which is later found in Voltaire. Voltaire brought his conception from England, but Bayle was known and admired in England and his Commentaire Philosophique, published in 1686, preceded by three years the Letters of Locke on the matter of tolerance. Brunetière remarks that Frenchmen have long been too ready to believe their ideas borrowed from foreign lands, and too little inclined to insist on the originality of French genius. And here he finds a case in point. A reflection of Bayle's powerful influence in England was brought across the channel by Voltaire and accredited to the English.⁽¹⁾

Needless to say, while there are so many traits which our author had in common with the eighteenth century and a number of lines along which he influenced the next age, in some respects he differed radically

1. Brunetière, Etudes Critiques, V, 117-8.

from his successors. He would not always have recognized his descendants.

The eighteenth century men were distinctly men of action, and Bayle was not. They associated their thoughts and the practical consequences and he did not. He was a quiet sedentary person who delighted to live in his study and took no hand in the affairs of the world. He was interested in truth for truth's sake; he did not study its bearing on the details of everyday existence. Voltaire, Diderot and their contemporaries were concerned with social and political problems and their compositions had a real, practical significance. They were hot-blooded enthusiasts who stood stoutly by their principles and were not sparing in villification of their adversaries. Bayle, calm and dispassionate, was far from having confidence in the value of his own ideas, he was inconsistent and admitted it, he was gentle in his censures. Not practical and not an enthusiast, his writings, whatever their attractions, lacked the interest felt in an author who espoused some cause with warmth and positiveness. The eighteenth century did not sympathize with such a nonchalant attitude.

Other points of difference are marked. What few opinions Bayle had on politics were monarchical. Doubtless his own habits of life had something to do with this; a lover of peace and quiet and of opportunity for study, he would not relish the idea of political upsets, he would prefer the feeling of certainty inspired by such an absolute monarch as Louis XIV. The theories of republican government he was inclined to look on as pretexts for the bullyings of demagogues. It is unnecessary to comment on the different point of view which characterized the eighteenth century. Furthermore Bayle was not at all a man of science, and, especially of the natural sciences, his knowledge was decidedly meagre. The eighteenth century devoted much of its energy to science and based thereon many of its most aggressive doctrines. There is none of this interest in Bayle. And he is far from paying the cult to reason so typical of the eighteenth century. He overturns authority on the basis of reason, he appeals to reason to support his independance and freedom of thought, but, after all, he concludes that reason too is a poor thing. To him reason is far from a goddess.

Bayle then is like and unlike the eighteenth century. Living himself in the seventeenth century and in the midst of its ideas, the position he took was distinctly radical; he was most certainly a forerunner of the later period, and his influence was most certainly powerful. At the same time he does not really belong to either age; he is rather a connecting link between them and, as such, his position is of great significance.

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